

THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

EDITOR : D. N. Majumdar

FOREIGN EDITOR : C. von Fürer-Haimendorf

Double Number

CONTENTS

	PAGE
NOTES AND COMMENTS	153
Secularization Processes in a Ceylon Village	<i>Bryce Ryan, L. D. Jayasena and D. C. R.</i>
	... <i>Wickremesinghe</i> 155
Race, Urbanism and Political Behavior	... <i>Merrill R. Goodall</i> 162
Values in Action : The Fox Project	... <i>Sol Tax</i> 168
Rural Life and Communication	... <i>D. N. Majumdar</i> 175
Local Government Elections in a Malwa Village	... <i>Adrian C. Mayer</i> 189
Hindu Social Organisation in village Majra	... <i>Prabhat Chandra</i> 233
Socio-Cultural Barriers to Rural Change in an East Bihar Community	... <i>N. Akhauri</i> 212
RESEARCH NEWS AND VIEWS :	220
BOOK REVIEWS :	
An Introduction to Anthoropology,—by <i>Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer,</i>	... <i>K. S. M. and R. D. Singh</i> 225
Joking and Avoidance Relationships Among The Maithils,—by <i>Pt. Baidyanath Saraswati,</i>	... <i>V. N. Misra</i> 227
Aadiyon ke Nritya Aur Geet (Hindi),—by <i>Sachin Roy,</i>	.. <i>K. S. M.</i> 229
Bhartiya Samaj Aur Sanskriti (Hindi),—by <i>Kailas Nath Sharma,</i>	.. <i>V. K.</i> 229

THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

(A Quarterly Record of Ethnography, Folk Culture)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE : Ethnographic & Folk Culture Society, U. P.

President—Dr. Sita Ram, D.Lt. (Hon) ;

Vice-Presidents—Sri B. D. Sanwal, I.C.S., and

Dr. B. S. Haikerwal, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.,

Hon. Secretary—Prof. D. N. Majumdar, M. A, Ph.D. (Cantab), F.N.I.

Asstt. Secretary—Miss Shanta Bhutani, M.A., LL.B.,

Hon. Treasurer—Dr. B. N. Puri, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon)

Exec. Committee—Sri Dineshwar Dayal Seth, M.A., LL.B.,

Dr. K. D. Upadhyay, M.A., Ph.D.,

Sri D. K. Sen, M.Sc., Dr. S. N. Chakrabarty, M.D., and

Mrs. Kusum Harinarayan, M.A.

Notice to Contributors to the Eastern Anthropologist

The Eastern Anthropologist is a quarterly Journal published from Lucknow.

Each number of the Journal will include (1) Original Articles, (2) Notes and comments including the announcements and reports of the proceedings of the Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, (3) Brief Communications, including short original notes and correspondence, (4) Research News and Views and (5) Reviews of Recent Books.

All communications printed in the Eastern Anthropologist are signed or initialed by their authors. The Executive Committee of the Society desires it to be understood that in giving publicity to them it accepts no responsibility for the statements and opinions expressed by them.

Contributors are requested to send their manuscripts clearly typed on one side of the paper, giving accurate references of literature they cite. Books for review, and reprints of papers for notice in the 'Research News and Views' section, as well as original articles and notes should be sent to:

The Editor, "The Eastern Anthropologist",
Anthropology Department,
Lucknow University,
Lucknow, India.

Trade enquiries and letters to various contributors, whose addresses are maintained in the office of the Journal, should be sent to the Secretary of the Journal; address same as the Editor's.

**Annual Subscription payable in advance Rs. 10/-
or £ 1-0-0 or \$ 3.00 Foreign. Single Copy Rs. 3/-**

Published by the Ethnographic & Folk Culture Society,
U.P., Anthropology Department, Lucknow University, India.

THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

Vol. XI, Nos. 3 & 4]

[March—August, 1958

NOTES AND COMMENTS

We had a pleasant visit to our Department from Prof. C. von Fürer Haimendorf, our foreign editor. Prof. Haimendorf was working for the last one year in Nepal among the Sherpas and on his way back he came to Lucknow to meet us. He gave an illustrated lecture on 'A Himalayan Buddhist Community' and participated in a Departmental Seminar on 'Caste Changes and Inter-Caste Relations'. The proceedings of the Seminar were tape-recorded and will be published in due course. Prof. Haimendorf also attended the annual meeting of the Departmental Courses and Syllabus Committee and assisted us in framing composite courses for both honours and pass degrees, undergraduate and post-graduate. Prof. Haimendorf attended several functions of the Department of Anthropology and the Anthropology Club was at home to meet him; the Journal Committee and the staff of the Ethnographic & Folk Culture Society also entertained him. He saw the research files of the Department, consisting of processed data on several village studies, first-hand studies of several ex-criminal tribes, and the Sereological Laboratory which is now doing some useful investigation on *Rh* and *MNS* frequencies in castes of the State.

Several books of Prof. D. N. Majumdar have been published by the Asia Publishing House, Bombay during the period under report. The Races and Cultures of India has come in a new garb, in its third and enlarged edition. 'Caste and Communication in an Indian Village' has been published, and a Hindi book on the Ingredients of Indian Culture styled 'Bharatiya Sanskriti ke Upadan' has been added to the Hindi literature on Anthropology. Apart from these books, 'An Introduction to Social Anthropology' under the joint authorship of Prof. D. N. Majumdar and T. N. Madan is undergoing revision and will appear in an enlarged edition, the third of its kind.

The Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission is publishing the report on Dhanaura, a village in the Mirzapur district—an evaluation study of the Community Development Project in a backward area. The main book will be published soon under the title of 'The Silhouette of an Indian Village'.

Prof. D. N. Majumdar and Prof. C. R. Rao have written the Bengal Anthropometric Survey Report which is being published by the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta under the title of 'Race Elements in Bengal'. This is a very important publication dealing with the techniques and analytical study of anthropometry and discusses the various theories current on race elements in India. Coming after the U.P. Anthropometric Survey Report published in 1950 under the joint authorships of Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, D. N. Majumdar and C. R. Rao, the publication provides an analytical approach to quantitative study of the ethnic groups of India. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis has contributed a foreward to the volume.

The Study of Cultural Change in Jaunsar Bawar, an evaluation study of a Polyandrous Culture where the CDP has been working for some time—a scheme financed by the Planning Commission, has been completed in June, 1958. The report in two volumes is in active preparation. Prof. D. N. Majumdar has also completed his report on the Bone Finds in Rupkund—the mystery lake of the Himalayas to which he led two expeditions to study the litter of bones there.

The Department had earlier completed the report on the Socio-economic Survey of Kanpur City and submitted it to the Planning Commission. This was a very big undertaking and a difficult one.

Sri T. N. Madan has gone to Australia to complete his research assignment. Sri Madan is expected to return to India in July, 1959 after submitting his dissertation for the Ph.D. degree in anthropology at the Australian National University. Sri D. K. Sen who is working at the London University on Serology is expected to be back in September, 1958.

SECULARIZATION PROCESSES IN A CEYLON VILLAGE*

BRYCE RYAN, L. D. JAYASENA AND D. C. R. WICKREMESINGHE

Pelpola is a quiet village of 400 peasant families thirty miles south of Ceylon's capital city. Through four centuries it has been in European contact. During those years it has bowed to western influence while preserving its distinctively Sinhalese heritage. The present century has probably brought more rapid shifts in Pelpola's life, but the groundwork for current transitions is found in the 18th and 19th centuries. The introduction of hundreds of Portuguese words and many family names testifies to the influential presence of these early invaders from the West. The force of the Dutch lay in such diverse directions as the introduction of a European legal system, and, of peculiar significance to this village, a canal linking certain villages to urban markets. In Pelpola this stimulated the early growth of a hand-fabricated tile and brick industry.

The most crucial historic event for Pelpola's integration with the larger world came at the beginning of this century. Rubber was introduced to the area. At this time about one-third of the village lands were sold off to absentee rubber estate proprietors, and village landholders also planted rubber on their own lands. The estates became a source for wage labour, especially for women, while village-owned rubber stimulated not only money economy but direct interest in world market trends. Whereas other crops, particularly rice, had been viewed more as subsistence than as market commodities, rubber was accepted as a useful stranger. In contrast to the venerated and ritualized paddy, rubber was a means to an end whether it yielded rents, profits or wages.

An encroaching money economy and associated wage labour structure might well have startling implications for a peasant village, and indeed these have been significant factors for Pelpola's secularization. However, it is important to bear in mind that at no point has the village left its old economic base for a new one. Rubber was added to paddy, wage labour was added to peasant proprietorship and village agricultural labour. Adjustment to the new without repudiation of the old is typical of many of Pelpola's responses to forces seemingly in conflict with traditional life. The full effect of pecuniary, capitalistic and individualizing forces associated with rubber were eased by the persisting cushion of a traditional economic life.

* The data upon which this paper is based may be found in the book by the same authors, *Sinhalese Village*, University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Florida, 1958. Statistical statements are derived from surveys in which 100 household heads were interviewed during 1951.

Many influences other than strictly economic ones have brought Pelpola into the orbit of the western and secular world. Market involvements of course stimulated communication and transportation lines. The new orientations of a modernizing state brought a government school as well as new political concepts and important services. Government bureaucracy, postal services, suffrage, and socialized health and medical programs developed gradually through the present century. Probably the most dramatic event since rubber in Pelpola's long transition was that of World War II. With this conflict, in which Ceylon as a then British colony was aligned with the Western democracies, world tensions were brought home to the village. Nearby Colombo was bombed, military installations offered employment to some Pelpola men, and normal trade channels were disrupted. Rationing schemes and rice collection programs plagued the villager. Ceremonialism in rice production bowed as the exigencies of war thrust upon the villager the rational devices of a government shifting the economy to a war footing. Rubber prices boomed and with this came new prosperity and renewed interest in market processes—all of this away from subsistence—reciprocity but consistent with the long trend toward secularism and gesellschaftlich features.

Upon such a background as this, we find Pelpola today a seeming jumble of the traditional and the non-traditional. Buses share the road with bullock carts and bicycles; castes, professedly of unequal birth, share equally in suffrage and institutional facilities; contractual wage workers refuse employment offered by a "bad" neighbour; peasants having their paddy machine-hulled preserve ritualism in threshing and winnowing; local businessmen have gained in economic power but prestige lies with the families rich through inherited lands. One may return from the city cinema to participate in a demon exorcizing ceremony. A man who drives a modern automobile has his paddy cultivated by techniques which were centuries old when Ceylon came first into Western contact. Yet, for all the seeming contradictions this village shows little or no evidence of disorganization. Overt conflicts are few; normative deviance is rare; even the poor have their daily rice; faith in the supernatural is strong and serenity in the Buddhist way is valued and, we believe, real. Pelpola lives well in some dynamic balance between a sacred traditionalism and forces of secularization. How has the new moved in upon the old to form this new and smoothly functioning composite?

For operational purposes, we assume that the process of secularization is composed of several measurable facets or dimensions. These are rationality in economic affairs and in reference to the natural world; increased regard for material values, increased regard for status by achievement rather than by ascription, political individualism, increased valuation of decision making by individuals rather than by

families : increased participation in special interest and audience type groups. Conversely, increasing secularization implies diminished reliance upon traditional ceremonies and folk beliefs. This conception of secularization sees it as a multi-dimensional process, the various parts of which may or may not be functionally or causally intertwined.

On the basis of crude, exploratory techniques, we attempted to test the following hypotheses. (1) The villager's degree of secularization in regard to each facet of the process is associated positively with participation in urban centered diffusion media. (2) An individual who is secular in one facet of the process tends also to be secular in all other facets as well. Finally, we would suggest some lines for explaining Pelpola's smooth transition in response to secularizing forces.

Generally speaking, participation in urban centered diffusion media is associated with secular values and behavior in respect to each of the separate facets of secularization. (See Table I). Participation in diffusion media was measured by extent of newspaper reading, trips to cities, years of schooling, and a test of knowledge on affairs of other countries. Each of these variables was positively associated with secular value professions in regard to status and other matters, acceptance of rational agricultural practices, wide use of western material culture items, and participation in audience type groups, *i.e.*, cinema attendance. The least association was observed in reference to the acceptance of technical innovations in agriculture an area in which Pelpolans have, in recent years, been peculiarly resistant to change. On the other hand, many ideological or value professions are highly secular and at the same time markedly influenced by contact with the outer world. Thus among the most traditional third of the respondents in regard to value statements only 8 per cent were regular newspaper readers as compared with 54 per cent of those most secular in value professions. The score made on a possible ten point international knowledge test was 2.2 for the most traditional in values, and 6.2 for the most secular. Similar but usually smaller differences are found when the most and the least secular in respect to each other facet are compared in their participation. It could not be determined which, if any, form of participation or contact is particularly influential for secularization.

In regard to the direct inter-relationship among the various facets of secularization, the evidence points tentatively toward the existence of secular and of traditional social types. (See Table II). Persons who are secular in value professions, for example, tend also to be secular in audience participation, use of western material culture, agricultural techniques, and in the neglect or disbelief in traditional ceremonies and folk practices. It is doubtful if any of the single

contingencies upon which this claim of consistency is made would be statistically significant. However, when we attend to the small extreme groups, the most and the least secular in regard to each facet, those most secular in values are more frequently among the most secular in each other facet. Those most secular in audience participation were more frequently among the most secular in all but one of the other facets. Four-fifths of the comparisons made in this manner are in the expected direction. These results are not to be viewed as demonstrations. They are crude, exploratory indications. But whatever weight they may hold falls on the side of consistency in the patterning of secularization. Tentative support is given belief in the existence of a secular social type as suggested by Leo Silberman in his concept of the "social entrepreneur."¹

It is impossible to state on quantitative grounds, which facets of secularization have moved most fully into the village milieu. We believe, however, that the political status, and certain economic values of Pelpola are rather close to those of Western, urban peoples. On the other hand, marriage and family values seem highly traditional. Special interest and audience groups are present but are almost inconsequential in significance before the continuing importance of primary affiliations. Alacrity to modern science and technology is mixed. Where science saves lives and technology saves labour, receptivity is possibly as great as in gadget conscious America. Where farm technology serves production at the cost of increased labour, Pelpolans cling stubbornly to their primitive devices and put their extra labour time into wage work outside the village—possibly a very rational secular decision indeed, in the circumstances.

With all Pelpola's mixture of secular thought and behavior with its traditional institutions, nothing remotely resembling community chaos or even disorganization has occurred. Changes yes, malfunctioning of institutions, deviance, bitterness, or anomie, no. Western medicine is valued, but the "native doctor" is still honored. Equality in institutional life is advocated for all castes, but caste endogamy and pride in caste birth is strong. Women do wage work outside the home, yet patriarchalism and the large family ideology appear not to have suffered. One is tempted to conclude that Pelpola has achieved something very important—the best of two seemingly irreconcilable worlds.

We believe that two different sets of conditions lie behind this smooth transition. The first of these relates to the long period of time within which non-traditional forces have been operating and the second to the inherent nature of traditional Sinhalese social

¹ Silberman, "Social Entrepreneurship—The Mauritian Case," (mimeo) University of Chicago, 1955.

integration. Pelpola has been in a Western type legal and political milieu for several generations. It had an anti-caste and anti-feudal government early in the 19th century. There was a developing self-government early in the 20th century. Plantations, highways, western medicine, and market prices are not new. However, machine technology in production is still embryonic. Without trauma and drama the new has been creeping in upon the old not in a manner suggested by Marxian or even by culture lag concepts, but rather in a fashion implied by Charles Horton Cooley in his concept of "tentative social process."²

Yet time alone cannot reconcile the irreconcilable. It is essential that we study the social and cultural organism upon which the new secular forces have operated. Elsewhere, in collaboration with Murray Straus, it has been suggested that the Sinhalese have had a peculiar capacity to retain essential features of a traditional order while easily adopting many new modes and values³. The responsible feature of Sinhalese social organization we termed "loose structuring" in its socio-cultural integration. Sinhalese society is guided by principles more than by precepts. Role specifications have been imprecise. Alternative modes of conformity have been tolerated to role norms and to universal norms. In a wide range of situations, quite different alternative courses of action have been normative. Even non-normative conduct has often been treated tolerantly. It is reasonable that people who live by principle should respond to acculturative forces differently from those who emphasize rigid prescriptions of conduct and absolutistic standards in norms and social relationships. It is of special significance that religion, Theravada Buddhism, has never aligned itself with a particular social order. And a religion of reason and the "middleway" stands in contrast to one, say, of faith and the "straight and narrow way."

Frequently Western influence has operated to limit rather than upset traditional norms; certain alternatives have been diminished while others, equally traditional, have been emphasized. Inexactness in kinship reciprocities has permitted redefinition rather than disruption. Science in the form of modern medicine has limited but certainly not deposed the demon dancer and the herbalist—the three are possibly more complementary than they are competitive today. Barring catastrophic innovation, such as industrialized rice production or collectivization, there is every reason to believe that Pelpola will move on as it has, accepting the blessings of an inventive and commercial world, and redefining matters of tradition with unconscious

² Social Process, New York: Scribners, 1918, Chap. 1.

³ Bryce Ryan and Murray A. Straus, "The Integration of Sinhalese Society," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Vol. 18, pp. 179-227.

gradualism. The smoothness of Pelpola's transition is not a testament to wise planning in technical aid but rather to a folk wisdom manifest in a flexible ethos.

TABLE I

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VARIOUS ASPECTS OF SECULARIZATION AND CONTACTS WITH THE OUTER WORLD*

Type of Secular Behavior	No. of Cases	Mean Trips to City 1951	% Reading Newspaper		Mean yrs. in school	Mean Score on Intern. Knowledge
			Reg.	Never		
Value Statements						
Traditional	23	24	8	39	3.6	2.2
Moderate	40	33	25	30	4.6	3.4
Secular	24	42	54	4	5.3	6.2
Technical Innovations**						
Traditional	27	28	22	33	4.3	3.3
Moderate	27	32	22	18	4.9	4.0
Secular	21	35	38	19	5.4	4.3
Audience Participation						
Traditional	63	28	21	32	4.2	3.4
Secular	24	45	50	8	5.4	5.2
Retention of Folk Beliefs and Practices						
Traditional	34	31	29	26	3.5	3.2
Moderate	22	29	9	36	4.0	3.5
Secular	31	39	39	16	5.4	4.9
Western Material Culture						
Traditional	58	28	22	31	4.0	3.1
Moderate	14	33	28	22	4.6	4.2
Secular	15	50	53	7	6.8	6.7

* For bases of classification in reference to traditionalism and secularization, see Sinhalese Village, *op. cit.*, Note that audience participation is operationally defined as cinema attendance. This might be considered a type of contact as well as a form of secular behavior. Conversely extensive knowledge is both an indication of contact and a manifestation of secular interest. Divisions of responses into categories were made to achieve three groups of nearest possible equal size.

**Cultivators only.

TABLE II

INTER-RELATIONSHIPS AMONG DIFFERENT FACETS OF SECULARIZATION

		Per cent in Most Secular Third in respect to				
	Values	Audience Partici- pation	Techno- logy	Tradi- tional Practices	Western Material Culture	Know- ledge
Values						
Most Conservative 23 cases*	—	9	36	9	31	13
Most Secular 24 cases	—	33	29	63	69	68
Audience Participation						
Most Conservative 63 cases	25	—	28	32	33	25
Most Secular 24 cases	33	—	28	46	33	46
Technology						
Most Conservative 27 cases	22	15	—	33	33	22
Most Secular 21 cases	29	24	—	24	38	29
Traditional Practices						
Most Conservative 34 cases	9	29	29	—	38	24
Most Secular 31 cases	35	36	25	—	40	42
Western Material Culture						
Most Conservative 58 cases	10	28	27	31	—	31
Most Secular 29 cases	44	28	29	41	—	52
Knowledge						
Most Conservative 30 cases	10	13	15	20	13	—
Most Secular 27 cases	63	41	27	48	46	—

* The 23 lowest cases in respect to value secularization score. Whenever possible the groups chosen for comparison in this column constitute the bottom and top thirds of all scores in the designated secularization facet.

RACE, URBANISM AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

MERRILL R. GOODALL

More than four years have past since the May 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court on school integration. A number of Southern schools have yet to desegregate; indeed, doubt persists in the minds of some whether "traditional" and "customary" beliefs on the sensitive relationships of race may be modified by law.

That Southern school integration touches issues which are primarily, if not exclusively, racial is assumed by many. Indeed, numerous observers find in Negro-white relations the key to the politics of the American South. In the 1956 volume of *Public Opinion Quarterly*, for instance, William J. Keefe reviews the Southern presidential vote in 1948 and 1952 elections and finds "color to be the political issue in predominantly Negro areas of the South."¹

Keefe's investigation, he reports, was prompted by V. O. Key, Jr.'s propositions: that (1) "the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro;" (2) "the hard core of the political South—and the backbone of Southern political unity—is made up of those countries and sections of the Southern states in which Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the population;" and (3) "it is the whites of the black-belts who have the deepest and most immediate concern about the maintenance of white supremacy." And, again in Key's words, "whatever phase of the Southern political process one seeks to understand, sooner or later the trail of inquiry leads to the Negro."² Key's now justly famous 1949 study does not discuss the law or the politics of school segregation. But his major argument—that the Negro is the explanation of Southern politics and that concern over Negro-white relations is greatest in areas of high Negro concentration and least in areas of low concentration—is accepted generally by many with responsibilities for educational planning in the South. It may be worthwhile, particularly because educational administrators face a number of urgent problems, to re-examine briefly certain of *Southern Politics*' conclusions.

Among the data used for the *Southern Politics* study were votes taken in the United States House of Representatives during the sessions initiated in 1933, 1937, 1941, and 1945. For these four sessions, 275 roll calls of record were examined; these roll calls included all votes of record except only roll call votes for the selection of Speaker and roll call votes in which dissenting vote did not exceed 10 per cent

¹ "Southern Politics Revisited," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Summer, 1956), p. 405.

² Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (N.Y., Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 5.

of the controlling vote. At least 90 per cent of all Southern representatives voted together on 143 votes of the 275 roll calls. On 103 of these 143 roll calls, Southerners opposed Republican majorities but agreed with Non-Southern Democratic majorities. On eleven roll calls this near-unanimous South arrayed itself against majorities of both Republicans and Non-Southern Democrats; in these eleven votes, Key therefore concludes, are the issues which separate a cohesive South from the remainder of the nation.

Six of these eleven roll calls do in fact raise directly the issue of race; three, in 1937, are derived from an anti-lynching measure and three others, all in 1945, are related to consideration of the anti-poll tax bill. Of the remaining five, Southerners stood in high degree of unison in support of a wire-tapping bill (1941), an anti-strike seizure proposal (1941), two anti-alien measures (1937 and 1941), and a plan to bolster cotton prices (1941).

Even, however, on these issues which produced a high degree of Southern cohesion and aligned Southern majorities against the rest of the country, there were Southerners who dissented from the views of a majority of their colleagues and did so when the compulsion toward unanimity might be thought greatest. We may, therefore, readily prepare a listing of the representatives from the South who dissented on one or more of the eleven roll calls on which less than 10 per cent of Southern Democratic representatives deviated from the vote of all Southern Democrats. If, on these issues of high cohesion—issues largely concerned with race—Southerners from *all* types of areas of heavy Negro concentration stood together, then we are warranted in assigning heavy weight to the factor of race as a determinant of Southern action in national politics. If, however, Southerners from areas of heavy Negro concentration which are *also* urban and industrial deviated in significant degree from the majority Southern stand on race propositions, then we may reconsider any reliance on race as an explaining hypothesis. By following these lines of inquiry we seek to check, to affirm or to qualify, Key's major conclusions.

Our tabulations show at once that the Southern dissenters on these high tension issues of race represent in preponderant degree the urban and metropolitan districts of the South. Indeed, of all the 44 dissenting votes cast on those roll calls which resulted in 90 per cent or more of Southerners voting together, just 20—45 per cent—were cast by congressmen representing districts containing a central city having more than 100,000 inhabitants. There were (1945) but 17 such districts in the South, and these accounted for no more than 16 per cent of all Southern congressional districts. An additional ten votes, 23 per cent of the total, were cast by congressmen representing districts which contained a central city having

from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants; there were 23 districts with such cities in the South, 22.3 per cent of all the districts. Sixty-eight per cent of the dissenting votes are thus attributed to metropolitan districts. Fourteen (32 per cent) of the votes remain to be accounted for; these are drawn from 61 per cent of the Southern congressional districts, the 62 per cent less-citified districts.

The metropolitan districts then produced congressmen capable of dissent from topmost Southern majorities; on the average, the less urban and rural districts did not. Further, districts which were rural *and* contained more than 30 per cent Negro population were not noticeably in the habit of dissent when a highly cohesive South is aligned against the rest of the country. But, of import to the hypothesis that race is the major determinant of Southern politics—a determinant correlated with districts heavily populated by Negroes—is the fact that districts both urban *and* heavily populated by Negroes were particularly productive of Southern dissent. Thus, examination of the specifically “racial” issues shows, first, that the urban areas accounted for 85.3 per cent of all the votes opposed to the majority Southern white-supremacy stand; and, second, that 24 per cent of all of those anti-racist votes came from representatives whose urban districts count Negro populations in excess of 30 per cent of the total population. Not one anti-racist vote was cast by a rural representative whose district contained like proportions of Negroes. Yet when we turn to the *non-race* issues which may be isolated out when 90 per cent or more of all Southerners were allied against Republican and Non-Southern Democratic majorities, we find that 62 per cent of all the dissents came from the urban representatives, 38 per cent from the non-urbanites, 19 per cent each from the rural-black and the urban-black representatives, 33.3 per cent from the rural-white and 42.8 per cent from the urban-white Southern district. We may conclude, therefore, that urban representatives, when compared with other groups for whom measurement is available, dissent in significant degree but on the “race” issue their dissent is proportionately the heaviest. And while a representative from a rural-black district may deviate on a non-race vote, none will dare to do so on the “race” issue. Those urban congressmen whose districts contain heavy Negro populations are found to dissent from the strongest Southern racial positions. In the urban areas—white *and* black—there is the least concern and support for white supremacy, the strongest tendency to desert the traditional racial standard.

In an effort to identify further the way in which Southern attitudes are structured in national politics, we may next notice those issues which join top Southern majorities with Republicans and in opposition to Non-Southern Democrats. From the grand total of 275 roll calls, just four votes led at least 90 per cent of all Southerners to join

Republican majorities in opposition to Non-Southern Democratic majorities. On each of the four roll calls of highest Southern cohesion, the joint Southern-Republican attitude may be characterized as "conservative". These votes occurred in 1945. The first of these elicited Southern Democrat-Republican support of a measure designed to restrict the activities of the War Labor Board. The second and third found this coalition favoring the return of United States Employment Service offices to the states. The fourth vote expressive of this alliance paved the way for House consideration of the Hobbs "anti-labor racketeering bill".

Not all Southerners, on the votes here summarized, were pulled irresistibly toward Republicanism. Our tabulations show that the Southerners who refuse to go along with high Southern majorities when such majorities are joined with Republicans against Non-Southern Democrats are most likely to represent urban areas—urban white *and* urban with considerable Negro populations. As many as 75 per cent of all the votes dissenting to the Republican alliance—when 90 per cent or more of the Southern delegation voted together—came from representatives whose districts contain a city having more than 50,000 inhabitants, *and* half of these urban districts were well over 30 per cent Negro in population. The district most productive of this type of dissent was the city of Birmingham. No more than 2.4 per cent of that congressional district's employed population was engaged in agriculture and in 1940 no city in the South exceeded Birmingham in value of product added by manufacturing. The district, moreover, is well above 30 per cent Negro in population.

Southern New Dealers, if we can identify as New Dealers those Southerners who join Non-Southern Democrats when high Southern majorities are aligned with Republicans, are in most instances of urban—both urban white and urban Negro—origination. Rural districts regardless of the white-Negro ratio, and particularly rural districts with heavy Negro population concentrations, tend not to dissent from the Southern-Republican alliance. Areas productive of congressmen who express a conservative economic point of view are, on the average, those areas most productive of the white supremacist standard. In all of this, contrary to Key's stand in *Southern Politics*, the critical factor is not the presence in substantial numbers of Negroes—for we have also noted that Southern New Dealers are as likely to spring from those urban areas with heavy Negro concentrations as from those urban areas only lightly populated by members of that race.

To the extent, therefore, that Southerners do, in practice, dissent from majority southern goals, differences in voting record divide the heavily Negro populated areas *depending on the degree to which they are urban*. While this conclusion stems from work with very small

numbers—and this presents several difficulties—two points deserve notice. First, there are evident uniformities inside our tabulations and these are clearly suggestive of broader generality. Second, our sampling device cuts at the high-tension, genuinely meaningful levels. We have identified the Southern representative bold enough to deviate from “traditional” Southern views on race, bold enough to dissent when Southern cohesion is at its highest, most compelling level.

In the urban areas—white *and* black—there is the least concern and support for white supremacy, the strongest tendency to desert the racial slogans and to ally with the Non-southern Democrats. We may expect that in these areas a number of conditions favorable to school integration are to be found. In such areas the Negro is seen less as a Negro and rather more as a member of one of several social groups peculiar to contemporary urban and industrial organization. There are hints here for educational policy, if we care to study them. Our tabulations, for example, show that the district containing Little Rock produced greater dissent to prevailing Southern positions than any other congressional district in Arkansas. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Little Rock school authorities prepared a desegregation plan as early as mid-1955. Over one-fourth of Little Rock's school children, it may be noted incidentally, are Negro. What went wrong? Little Rock is also a part of the state of Arkansas and in the apportionment of state legislative representation in Arkansas, urban areas are discriminated against and rural areas are over-represented. Such a pattern of discrimination affects strongly the quality of executive leadership in Arkansas. Arkansas state administration, it soon became evident, did not seek to assist the Little Rock educators in their effort to implement a desegregation program. It is now abundantly clear that in such a situation there can be scope for community decision and administration only in the presence of executive firmness at the highest national levels. In the absence of advance and unmistakable notice from the Executive Office of the President that the desegregation program will be enforced, local communities which have achieved a high measure of community consensus and respect for the law may find their most carefully devised programs defeated by agencies of state administration which are responsive to dissimilar purposes and groups.

A major difficulty in convincing national administration of their responsibilities is the view that all Southerners vote and think identically on race issues. In popular belief this is a subject on which the “white South is as united as 30,000,000 people can be.....³. There

³ Hodding Carter, quoted in Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream* (New York: Norton 1949), p. 72.

are in fact areas of light and of heavy Negro concentrations—predominantly urban areas—which tend to dissent from majority Southern views. Southern attitudes are not traceable, metrically, to the Negro-white population ratios. Southern politics is not fashioned exclusively by the Negro, but reflects also the social relations characteristic of urban-industrialism.

VALUES IN ACTION: THE FOX PROJECT*

SOL TAX

Picture a piece of land on the Iowa River in Central Iowa. Some of it is bottomland that floods over. Some of it is wooded hillside. Some is useful for farming. For the past 100 years this has been the home of a growing community of American Indians who call themselves Mesquakies. They are commonly known as Fox Indians. After the Blackhawk War they were removed from Illinois and Iowa to Kansas. They defied the government, however, and in 1857 a few of them sought and received permission of the State of Iowa to buy 80 acres of land on which to settle. The 80 acres have grown to 3300. The population has grown to some 600 persons who think of this settlement as home even though many work and live in the towns and the cities of the white world, that in the meantime have surrounded their land and their lives.

A hundred years of peace—of peaceful coexistence! Time enough for the Indians and their neighbors to take one another quite for granted—time enough for Indians and whites in daily contact to become unaware each of the other. With some government help, and with a great deal of official interference, the Indians maintained their own community, their language, their religion, their peculiar family interrelations, their Mesquakie values. Successful hunters turned unsuccessful farmers; an independent tribal state with its proud chiefs and law becomes the dependent pawn of a confused government bureaucracy—everything was changed. But the economic alternatives offered by Iowa agricultural life were unacceptable to the moral values of Indian life. These had not changed; the Indians would not be unfaithful to the only “right” they could accept. Thus when I first visited the settlement in 1932 and 1934, to study the social organization, I suppose that they had achieved a kind of adjustment to the surrounding white world. I came away then with the impression that they were remarkably well organized in terms of Indian forms, even taking account of an old factional split. Needless to say, they were poor; but in the depth of the depression of '32 and '34 so was everybody. They seemed to be a going concern in terms of their ancient culture. This was surprising to me, since I would have

* Given as part of general session on “Values in Action” at meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, Illinois, December 28, 1957.

expected that a small community of the only Indians in a large and populated state would after 75 years have become pretty much like others in Iowa. But they had maintained not only their identity, and pride in their own history, but also a large core of their traditional culture. Few of the Indians spoke English; fewer still were Christians despite two missions that seemed well established.

In the summer of 1948, mainly to provide opportunity for field training, the University of Chicago sent to this settlement six students, to study various problems according to their interest. The depression had turned into the New Deal and WPA and CCC and other projects in which the Indians participated. The Mesquakie had organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of the Collier regime. Then in the great war many Indians had fought and returned veterans were having difficulty readjusting to life in the Indian settlement. We, therefore, expected many changes from 1934 to 1948.

It turned out that the community had increased in size from about 400 to 600; more people were graduating from high school; more people were working successfully in a greater variety of occupations in more communities in Iowa. But the community was as distinctive as before, and perhaps as proud. If there was a great difference it was that the Indians felt a greater sense of problem; they wanted their local security, but they also wanted things from the world.

Or perhaps anthropology had changed with the depression and the war and we noticed the problems more than I had earlier. In any event, this field party in 1948, became concerned less with the traditional aspects of the culture than with the ways in which the community and the people were dealing—or not dealing—with their internal factionalism and with their relations to whites. They began to try to understand in this local setting the processes of acculturation, adjustment, community organization. We accepted the problems of the Indians as problems for study. And instead of observing from the outside we began to do what every physician does—learn while helping.

Just for the historical record, let me emphasize that when the six students came to the Indians in 1948 nobody had in mind a role for them other than that of anthropologist. On my first visit to them they asked me if they could not try to help the Indians solve their problems. I have never decided why I said yes; surely I had not thought through the consequences; but with the word the project was launched. Back in Chicago I wrote them a letter rationalizing what I called "participant interference." All of our justification has come after the fact. Indeed, the theory and practice have grown up together. The phrase action anthropology dates from a session in one of these rooms at the last annual meeting of the AAA here just six (?) years ago. We knew no precedent for what we were trying

to do in combining research and action; it did not seem to us we were exactly applying science. So, as independently by Alan Holmberg and also by James Spilius—working in Tikopia in 1952-1953—we coined a new term.

After we were fairly underway in understanding the problems of the Mesquakie community, we began, of course, to look at other Indians and have ranged widely and in at least one other case also deeply. We have reason now to believe that our diagnosis of the problems of the Mesquakies applies to many other Indians, and our answers to the problems may also be generally useful. With respect to the Fox themselves, we see a configuration of interrelations too complicated for this short presentation. This is a hypothesis we test. In a general way we now understand the ways in which the Indians will and will not change.

The two irreducible conditions of community-wide change are that the new behaviour does not require either (1) a loss of Fox identity, or (2) a violation of Fox moral beliefs. One takes for granted also that the change is practically possible, that the new behavior required is understandable and feasible, and that there is some reason, from the point of view of the Indians, to make it. Given these two general limitations, *we suppose any change is possible.*

It is the object of our Action to free the Indians to make the changes that they wish to and that would appear from our hypothesis to be in their interest. We want to break into the circle at any point, and actually we have been attacking at several. Most simply, we have been telling everybody we can just what I am saying here: that neither assimilation nor its opposite are inevitable; that Indians can maintain their identity as Indians while making such changes as won't violate their own values but are still sufficient to make them self-sustaining. We say further, that one necessary condition is a continuation for as long as needed of the small amount of money provided by the federal government for Indian education and health. But preaching is also accompanied by other activities. We attempt to interest politicians in the idea of some financial arrangement that will guarantee the maintenance of the school and clinic, but on a basis where the Indians will make their own decisions concerning their education and health so that the Whites see that they are capable of running their own affairs. We have also embarked on two specific programs both closely tied to our general diagnosis. One is a scholarship program to bring young Indians into the professions, so that they can enter the White economy at levels other than as laborers and artisans. The second is to help the Indians to develop a cooperative industry to produce and sell Indian crafts. Perhaps the greatest end served by these is removing obstacles that keep Indians from relating to functional White organizations and interest

groups. Such new relations are both desired by the Indians and need not require that they change either their identification as Indians or their moral values. Needless to say, we look forward to an occasion when we can describe these programs in detail, perhaps with a report of the results achieved. Suffice it to say now that the scholarship program was received enthusiastically by the Indian community to the remarkable end that all or nearly all Indians in high school now take it for granted that they will seek higher education. We think this is partly because we succeeded in separating the question of remaining or not remaining an Indian from the question of how a person makes his living.

And now for the craft program. The results that we hope for are much more far-reaching. If we are successful we will have helped the Fox Indians to adopt patterns for relating to the larger society that will at once break down the functional isolation that exists and also establish patterns for constructive internal community organizations. Again, if we are successful we believe it will be because the new institution neither imply social death nor violate basic Fox values, at the same time that they do permit new identification with prestigious white occupation groups and new service relations among Indians.

If you ask me what are the values that are involved in our interference, I must say—looking back now—that they are three in number :

FIRST OF ALL there is the value of truth. We are anthropologists in the tradition of science and scholarship. Nothing would embarrass us more than to see that we have been blinded to verifiable fact by any other values or emotions. We believe that truth and knowledge are more constructive in the long run than falsehood and superstition. We want to remain anthropologists and not become propagandists; we'd rather be right according to canons of evidence than win a practical point. But we also feel impelled to trumpet our truth against whatever falsehoods we find, whether they are deliberate or psychological or mythological. This would be a duty to science and truth, even if the fate of communities of men were not involved. But since some myths are part of the problem of American Indians it is also a duty to humanity, and outraged justice. Our action anthropology thus gets a moral and even missionary tinge that is perhaps more important for some of us than for others.

SECOND, we feel most strongly the value of freedom, as it is classically expressed and limited. Freedom in our context means usually freedom for individuals to choose the group with which to identify, and freedom for a community to choose its way of life. Nothing would embarrass us more than to be shown that we are, for example, encouraging Indians to remain Indians, rather than to become something else, or trying to preserve Indian cultures, when the Indians involved would choose otherwise. All we want in our action

programs is to provide, if we can, genuine alternatives from which the people involved can freely choose—and to be ourselves as little restrictive as is humanly possible. It follows, however, that we must try to remove restrictions imposed by others on the alternatives open to Indians, and on their freedom to choose among them. We avoid imposing our values upon the Indians, but we do not mean to leave a vacuum for other outsiders to fill. Our program is positive, not negative; it is a program of action, not inaction; but it is a program of probing, listening, learning, giving in.

This requires that we remove ourselves as much as possible from a position of power, or undue influence. We know that knowledge is power, and we try hard to reject the power that knowledge gives us. Perhaps this seems contrary to the functioning of applied science. We realize that we have knowledge that our Indian friends do not have, and we hope to use it for their good. But to impose our choices on the assumption that "we know better than they do what is good for them" not only restricts their freedom, but is likely to turn out to be empirically wrong. The point is that what is best for them involves what they want to be. But operationally this is knowable only by observing which alternatives they actually choose. Hence we defeat ourselves to the degree that we choose for them. Hence we find ourselves always discovering and not applying knowledge.

So our value of freedom is partly an ethic and partly a way of learning the truth. At least we see no contradiction between our first two values.

A THIRD VALUE—or is it a principle of operation?—is a kind of Law of Parsimony which tells us not to settle questions of values unless they concern us. This in a way is a value to end for us the problem of values. In the beginning of our Fox program, having decided to interfere for some good purpose, we were beset with value problems. Some of us were for and some of us were against the assimilation of the Indians; what a marvellously happy moment it was when we realized that this was not a judgment or decision we needed to make. It was a decision for the people concerned, not for us. Bluntly, it was none of our business. This not only freed us, but the particular instance was the beginning of the philosophy of our action program. As I look back now I see that this has been our general solution to value problems. When it became necessary to decide which of conflicting values to choose, we eventually found ourselves not deciding at all, and finding some way around it. Perhaps it is time now to set this down systematically as an operating value.

People are always asking us whether we think cannibals have a right to self-determination. With respect to cannibalism, wouldn't we have to impose some value of our own? Now, I neither eat human flesh, nor like the thought of being eaten; I am as revolted as

others in our culture by the whole idea. I have no notion what I would do if I found myself involved in an action program on a cannibal isle; I can only think of jokes to say. If I attempt to answer seriously I am beset with all the value contradictions involved in so-called cultural relativism. But whatever my personal position on this, *it has no significant bearing on what we should do tomorrow to help the Fox Indians* develop more constructive relationships within their community, or with other Iowans.

I do not want to be interpreted now as anti-philosophical; problems of values are intellectually and personally important to all of us, and to anthropology. We need to discuss them. The only question at issue is the degree to which they need to be resolved before action can be taken. Clearly the answer depends upon the actor, the problem, and the alternatives open. It must be different for every case. The general rule that we have found useful is, therefore, only a limiting principle. It is that which, I understand, underlies the operations of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Court will not decide constitutional questions in the abstract, but insists that a *case* be at issue; and even then it tries to decide the case on technicalities, if possible, and avoid as long as possible deciding the general issues.

I take it this is wise and necessary because in human life issues arise only when there are no good easy answers, and the decision becomes a choice of evils. By definition it is good to postpone doing something bad.

In the same way, and generally for the same reason, we too avoid making decisions when (1) (as in the instance of Indian assimilation) they are not clearly ours to make, and when (2) (as in the instance of cannibalism) they can be postponed. This is a general rule of action for us, to be followed—like all our rules—as well as humanly possible. But I mention it here only in the context of the problem of values itself, to the point that this rule of parsimony puts a limitation on our liability for value judgments as they relate to our programs of action.

An issue that has lately arisen among us, for example, is whether we put freedom or self-determination as a higher value. What we ask, if a community wants to remain dependent? The book by O. Mannoni recently translated into English as *Prospero and Caliban** argues that Melagasy communities resist being given independence, and the question arises: Does self-determination include the right to determine not to be self-determining; and if so, are we still for it? Or do we rather force freedom on a community? This question seems critical only because some people think that American Indians

* London, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1956.

have become dependent in this sense, and that an umbilical cord tying them to the government must be cut. Our procedure in the face of this is first of all to forget about Madagascar—we don't know if what Mannoni says is or is not true; we have no way of finding out, by methods which satisfy us, except by going there and working with a community in an experiment with freedom, and second to reexamine the factual situation of American Indians to be sure of our conclusion that American Indian communities can operate independently under given conditions that they help choose. The result is that we analyze the *conditions* of independence. This is our answer to the question for purposes of action; we find we do not need to settle the hypothetical problem of the general issue, and need no longer be diverted from our task. Thus new data, new alternatives, new value issues give rise to new problems for analysis and study—but the problems are settled in the concrete instances where we operate even though left unsettled forever in the abstract.

I would say the same thing about the problem repeatedly suggested here, whether science sets values, or whether we can scientifically justify our interference. I would simply postpone the general question and worry about the alternatives open to us for action tomorrow, and the consequences of each for ourselves, for the Indians and the general society and for science or for the profession of anthropology. I only hope that we are able to behave responsibly at each point of decision.

May be that is why we call this action anthropology.

RURAL LIFE AND COMMUNICATION

D. N. MAJUMDAR

Mohana is a medium-sized multi-caste village in Uttar Pradesh, about eight miles north of Lucknow, the State capital, towards the Lucknow-Sitapur road. It is connected with Lucknow by six miles of metalled, motorable road and, at exactly the sixth mile-post, by a *kacha* feeder road, motorable in dry weather, but generally covered by bullock cart, bicycle, *ekka* or on foot. The last two-mile stretch is not easily negotiable in the rainy season when the feeder road becomes slushy and, at places, knee-deep under water. The nearest post-office and railway station is about three miles north-west of Mohana; the nearest police station is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-west.

Mohana is mainly an agricultural village. Of course, in a place where caste distinctions are rigidly marked, there would be the traditional caste professions, and so in Mohana, a Nai is a barber, but he is also an agriculturist; a Dhobi washes clothes, but he also cultivates the land. So it happens that 99 per cent of the villagers are farmers working either on their own lands or on the lands of others for payment. The Gadarias have completely given up their caste profession of animal husbandry. The Bhaksors alone, and there are only two Bhaksor families in the village, have stuck to their traditional occupation.

The Thakurs are the dominant caste, not because they are numerically preponderant—a dominant caste is not always a numerically preponderant caste. A few families, owning land and a higher level of living, a single zamindar family with its extended kinship ties, may exercise big influence in the village and may determine and decide the pattern of village life and the nexus of the ties between the various castes living in the village. The Thakurs own the land, they are proprietary cultivators, they may corner the major portion of the village land, the other castes have willingly or unwillingly to serve them and live by serving them. Even if a caste is numerically dominant in a village it need not be socially dominant. It is only when the caste has a dominant status in other villages, *i.e.*, in a group of neighbouring villages, the numerical preponderance in a village can be cashed. The majority concept is a modern democratic one. Indian villages probably never exercised majority rule, or accepted majority verdict. The feudal India did not compromise with numerical strength. Besides, a lone Brahmin, a Sadhu, a Zamindar, a lone

social worker, has exercised more influence than a numerically preponderant community in the village. The backward classes, scheduled castes, preponderate in many villages, even a particular caste like the Lodha or the Pasi may be numerically the largest caste in a village, but authority and importance may attach to the few upper caste families, or to the zamindar family; that is, the social matrix of the Indian village.

The Chamars in Mohana constitute 23.5 per cent of the village population and the Thakurs 21.5 per cent—the rest of the population is divided into 13 other castes. While the Thakurs are second in the list of numerical strength, they hold 40 per cent of the land in the village. This fact alone would account for the economic dominance of the Thakurs. As they are also the propertied caste, their prestige and influence are beyond cavil. In many villages, the dominant role in the village may be shared by the petty shopkeepers and Baniyas who live by lending money to the villagers, and their importance can be gauged by the amount of jealousy and hatred shown to them by the upper castes of the village. With the abolition of the Zamindari system in U.P., the Thakurs have lost both in economic and social status, and are frantically making a bid for maintaining their hold on the village. Some have become moneylenders, and are competing with the Sahukars or the Baniyas, some have opened grocery shops in the village and one finds a kind of chaos in the context of rural occupations and inter-caste relations.

The village Mohana, inspite of its nearness to urban centre, still maintains its rural pattern, and although occasional contacts exist with the city, the village is not a communicating one. Yet contacts with city-life are not wholly absent. There are a few people who have to visit the village officially, and from them the villagers gather a great deal of information on varied subjects. Any government information with which the villagers should be acquainted is taken to them by the Lekhpal or Patwari. If there are changes in the land tax or some announcements regarding government property, it is the Lekhpal's duty to impart the information to the villagers. It was he who told them of the Government Scheme of consolidating land-holdings, and also explained to them what it was, and enumerated the advantages of the scheme. Besides such official information, the Lekhpal further furnishes them with other bits of news that he gathers in the city. Then there are the tax-collectors from the Malihabad Tahsil (including the Lekhpal) and from the District Board, who have a fund of interesting information for the villagers about the happenings in their respective places. The postman is a very rare visitor to the village, for even when there are letters to be delivered he sends them through the Mohana boys studying at the Higher Secondary School at Bakshi-ka-Talab.



CONTACTS MADE BY THE VILLAGERS

Some of the villagers go to Lucknow daily, for a few are employed there. Then a few take milk to Lucknow for sale. There are others whose visits to the city, though not daily, are frequent. The Dhobis have a few clients there, and those who have shops go to Lucknow and Itaunja markets to purchase goods. All these people, while chiefly concerned with their work, glean all sorts of information from the people with whom they come in contact.

Melas (fairs), markets, wrestling bouts—in fact any gathering are all occasions for fact and fiction passing from mouth to mouth. Marriage parties from Mohana to other places, and *vice versa* are frequent. At the annual *Holi* celebrations the Thakurs from nine other villages also assemble to greet one another a happy *Holi*. Amidst such rejoicings information, valuable and otherwise, is acquired and also passed on.

Among others who figure prominently in the dissemination of news and ideas are the students who are at Bakshi-ka-Talab school. Close to Bakshi-ka-Talab is Andaura where a National Extension Service Centre is functioning. When the boys return to the village after school, they tell the villagers not only of what they were taught in school, but also of the tractors and other agricultural equipments which they see at the N.E.S. centre. One day one of the teachers at the Bakshi-ka-Talab went to the class room with his convocation gown and it provoked comments and gossip in the village. In Achhra Man (7 miles away from Mohana) is a small fountain pen factory, and the students of Bakshi-ka-Talab often go there to purchase fountain pens. Gopala, the owner of the factory, is a widely travelled man, and the students listen to him with great interest. Gopala is a relative of Parag Lohar of Mohana. So Parag also visits him often.

Those taken into police custody, know something about the punishments meted out to offenders, identification parades and how they are carried out, and also of the alleged bribery and corruption among the police officials. When a villager is arrested, those who have been arrested before advise him as to how he will be questioned and how he should answer the questions.

CENTRES OF INFORMATION IN THE VILLAGE

The *Pradhan* of the Gram Sabha is the administrative authority of the village. The Lekhpal takes all the government information first to the *Pradhan*. Then there is the *Sarpanch* of the *Adalti panchayat*, who is the judicial head. So he has a knowledge of the various quarrels and how they were settled. He knows the working of the *panchayat*. A *chaukidar* is employed by the police on Rs. 5/-

a month, and it is his duty to inform the police of any serious quarrels in the village. He has with him a record of all the births and deaths in the village. He informs the *Pradhan* of new entries in the records.

There are a few villagers who by virtue of having done a bit of travelling are looked upon as possessing more knowledge than the others. P. Shukla was a compounder in the army during the 2nd World War, and even now he has a stock of medicines with him, and he advises the villagers about the treatment of various diseases. R. Singh has visited many places. He has been to Rampur (to take dips in the Ganges) and to Sitapur (to attend the *Shiva Ratri* fair) several times. He has also been to Barabanki, Rai Bareilly, Pratapgarh and Sultanpur with marriage parties and to Gonda on personal business. He goes to Lucknow almost every week, sometimes oftener to make purchases of victuals and other articles, and sells them in the village. He has passed the Hindi Upper Middle Examination. A. Singh has been only to Kanpur, Barabanki and Lucknow, but he likes to talk about himself and his adventures. Bux Singh is a widely travelled man and has been to many places outside India, for he was in the army. The brothers R. Singh and M. Singh were also enlisted as soldiers. All these people still talk of the interesting adventures in which they were involved, and from them the villagers have heard about China, Russia, Japan, Turkey, England, America, Germany, France and Burma. The strange talk about these distant countries attracts everyone's attention, and the villagers talk about the noseless or flat-nosed Chinese and the loquacious French. The villagers have heard about a few places of pilgrimage in India such as Hardwar, Prayag, Kashi, Kanpur, Neemsar, Gola Gokaran Nath, and Badrinath.

DISSEMINATION OF NEWS AND IDEAS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Messengers:

The villagers cling to the old method of sending messages through messengers, the messengers employed being Nais and Pasis. Messages to neighbouring villages and even to Lucknow are sent this way. Quite often the Nai is instrumental in settling marriages, especially among the Thakurs, for he is sent round to look out for suitable brides and grooms. The services of the Nai are required for sending messages regarding ceremonies connected with birth, *mundan*, marriage and death. Notices about panchayat meetings are also sent round through Nais. A Pasi is also deputed to convey messages regarding child-birth, *mundan* and marriage, but he never carries the message of death and its associate ceremonies. Apart from messages pertaining to ceremonies and functions, confidential messages and documents

are also sent through Pasis, for they are trust-worthy people. Letters containing urgent messages to places outside Mohana are never posted as the villagers are not sure when the letter would reach its destination. In fact, they are not sure whether it would reach its destination at all. Usually a member of the family himself goes to convey urgent and important messages, and when this is not possible a Pasi is despatched instead. The messenger goes on foot or on a cycle.

Conversation:

Conversation is the common way by which the exchange of ideas and information takes place. Any fresh topic is sure to be discussed in the evening gatherings. Topic after topic is taken up, one topic leading to another in the course of the conversation. For instance, when the boys studying at Bakshi-ka-Talab related the incident of one of their teachers having come to the class in his convocation gown, all those present were greatly amused and listened to the boys with interest. Then one of the villagers who had been in the army talked of the dress of the Burmese. Discussion about a quarrel in the village leads to a talk about the police, chiefly about their inefficiency and their eagerness to accept bribes. Then it leads to the stringent financial position of the villagers and so on. Young and old take part in these conversations. The teacher of the village primary school talks on many interesting subjects. Agricultural taxes, politics, modern changes in food and dress, cinema shows, religious festivals and ceremonies—a variety of topics all are touched upon, sometimes seriously, but often lightly. The Congress government, tax collectors, police, village leaders, *panchayat* members—no one is spared, all are judged and criticised by the villagers. Conversations on these topics are not confined to the evening gatherings alone. Anywhere and any time two or more people get together there is some topic of common interest to them. Man must talk and talk he does too often and too much. The villager is no exception.

Katha Ceremonies:

Katha ceremonies are means whereby values are sought to be imparted to the villagers. The *Katha* of *Satya Narain* (the true god) is a collection of many short stories dealing with the lives of people who worship him and also with the lives of those who neglect his worship. Each story has one or more morals in it. Three of these stories are given below :

Once a Brahmin went outside the country in the interests of his business, and after a time returned with two boat-loads of diamonds, and gold and silver ornaments, worth several lakhs of rupees. When he neared the shore, *Satya Narain* himself went to him in the guise

of a *Sadhu*, and asked him for alms. The Bania unwilling to part with even a little bit of his wealth, replied that he had no money to give, and that in his boats there was only worthless material. The *Sadhu* went away saying, 'As you say'. When the Bania looked into his collection of wealth, he found that the diamonds, and gold and silver had all turned into worthless stuff, fit only to be thrown away. The Bania then went in search of the *Sadhu* and found him sitting under a tree near by, and requested him to restore his wealth, promising that he would never again utter a lie or be so miserly. The *Sadhu* granted him his request, so that the Bania got back his wealth.

2. This same Bania was not blessed with any children, and one day he made a vow that if his wife bore him a child, he would perform a *pooja* to *Satya Narain*. In due course of time, his wife gave birth to a girl. When he was reminded of his promise to perform the *pooja* to *Satya Narain*, he said that he would fulfil the promise when the daughter was married. Years passed by and the daughter was married, but there was no sign of the Bania performing the *pooja*. His son-in-law was now his partner in business and they both went on a business tour. On the way they were arrested on a charge of theft. The Bania's wife remembered the promise, and performed the *pooja* to *Satya Narain*, and consequently her husband and son-in-law were released.

3. A king was returning home and was dead-tired after a chase. He rested under a tree for a while. At a distance the Ahirs of the village were offering *pooja* to *Satya Narain*. Seeing their king, they first gave him the *prasad*, but he would not accept it because it was given by Ahirs who were below him. He left the *prasad* under the tree and went home, but when he reached home he found that all his 100 sons had been killed by some means. He realised it was a result of divine wrath. So he went back to the place where *pooja* was performed and took the *prasad*. When he went home now, he found all his sons restored to life again.

Many another such story is recited, but it is doubtful whether the *Katha* ceremonies have any reformative value for the village. The villagers enjoy the story alright, but the moral of it fails to arrest their attention, at any rate they do not realise that they should put their morals into practice. Many of these villagers do not know the aim of the *Katha* ceremonies, for they believe that if they are present at the recital, they have performed their duty. Merely listening to the *Katha* is taken as performing a *punya karya* (a good deed), and is looked upon as a sort of 'passport' to *Swarg* (eternal bliss). So one can, without exaggeration, say that *Katha* ceremonies in the village, do not serve the purpose originally intended.

Education:

The Primary School of Mohana owes its existence to the kindness of an ex-zamindar of the village who donated his newly built house to the villagers to be used as a school. To pay the teacher the villagers had to contribute a little, and the zamindar gave the rest. By and by the school was recognised by the District Board. Now there are two teachers working in the school. In the history of the school, there have been times when it has not functioned well, but at present it is run smoothly and efficiently. Hindi, Arithmetic, History, Geography and Nature Study are taught in the school. Games are a part of the regular school routine. *Bhajans* and *Keertans* are organised on Saturday afternoons by the school teacher. Further, the children are taught cleanliness, tidiness, honesty and punctuality. Thus, the children who attend school are supposed to cultivate these good habits. Some of the boys after finishing their education at the primary school in the village, join the higher secondary school at Bakshi-ka-Talab, where they develop a broader outlook. It is generally seen that boys studying at Bakshi-ka-Talab are better behaved than the others, and it is hoped that they will have a good influence in the village. However, the attitude of the villagers, particularly, the higher castes has to change before any substantial good can come out of education.

ATTITUDE OF THE VILLAGERS TOWARDS EDUCATION AND OTHER MODERN AMENITIES

Education:

When the primary school was started in 1942, there were only ten boys attending it. From the very beginning the higher castes were opposed to the establishment of the school. They do not want their children to study, nor do they wish the low-caste children to attend school. There were and still are several reasons for their aversion to education.

Before the abolition of Zamindari, the Thakurs were rich, and there was no need for the boys to study. They had not to hunt for jobs, for they were amply provided for. All that they were supposed to learn was to extract labour from the low-caste people and collect taxes from the tenants. Besides, the general belief was that once the boys received education, they would become 'dandies' acquiring all the vagaries and caprices of the degenerated city youth, and would help the people of their families neither in the house nor in the field. Further, the Thakurs do not like their children to sit with the low-

caste children. They were opposed to low caste children studying, because they realised that education would improve their status, and consequently they would claim equality with the higher castes. They are still opposed to education mainly because of the last mentioned reason. Brahmins also oppose it, because it would bring about equality of all castes.

Some of the lower caste people did not like to send their boys to school, because their help was wanted in the field or at home. Often, little boys of six and seven years had to go out to work and earn something to help the family. Others, like the Dhobis, felt that education would not in any way be useful for their children, for they would finally turn to their caste-professions.

But on the whole the lower-castes favour education, because they realise that it would help them to shake off the aggression of the Thakurs and others who exploit them. The local money-lenders contributed towards the consciousness for education in no small measure. Their exorbitant and fleecing rates of usury made the villagers desperate. The high rate of interest which increased according to the wishes of the money-lenders kept the illiterate debtor at the creditor's mercy, since he would never know as to what was being entered in the accounts. Often enough, the poor debtor would toil and slave and save enough to pay off the debt only to find that the amount to be paid mysteriously doubled or trebled itself. The debtors are not given a receipt for the amount paid, on the plea that they are illiterate. This made them favour education. They are eager to educate their children to keep a better account of loans and repayments. The same argument holds good in the matter of paying taxes. Again, those who could read and write got employment in cities easily. These instances speak much in favour of education and the number of low caste children in the school is increasing rapidly.

The standard of the boy's performance in school depends to a great extent on the attitude of the guardians towards education. Of the few high caste school-boys, many are indifferent to what is taught in school, and some of them are 'pronounced dunces'. But the low-caste children are industrious and diligent, and naturally their performance is good. The pity is that many of the low-caste boys cannot join the higher secondary school at Bakshi-ka-Talab, owing to economic reasons.

The villagers think that girls do not need education, the argument being that sooner or later they will marry and settle down in their homes, and any knowledge they receive of History or Geography will be a mere waste. So the villagers opine that it is enough for a girl to learn to read and write, so that she can read and write letters if the necessity arises.

The Postal Service:

The villagers show no appreciation of the postal service. They rarely receive letters and money orders find their way into the village only once in a blue moon. The general feeling is that the postal service is very unreliable and incurs a great deal of unnecessary delay. There is truth in what the villagers say, for once a letter reached the village, two months after its despatch, when it should have reached its destination the next day. However, the main reason for the villagers' dislike of the postal service is their illiteracy. They have to find a literate person to get their letters read or written. If the message to be sent is of a confidential nature, it involves greater difficulties. The roundabout way in which a confidential letter is dictated and written, conveys a message totally different from the one intended to be conveyed. Similarly, there is hesitation in getting one's letters read by someone else, if one expects confidential messages in them. So the villagers stick to the old methods of sending messengers or taking the messages themselves and resort to the postal service only when the distance is very great.

Radio:

There is demand for a radio in the village. The demand is more vocal and persistent among those who have listened to the *panchayat-ghar* programme of the Lucknow station of the A.I.R. Those who have been to film shows in Lucknow are also keen to have a radio set in the village, for they know that film songs are relayed particularly by the Radio Ceylon. Though the demand is great, no one is prepared to take up the responsibility of looking after the set, if one is installed in the village. Even the *Sarpanch* is not willing to shoulder this responsibility. So the idea of asking the government to have a set installed in the village was dropped.

Newspapers:

Newspapers are not popular among the villagers, and even if they are supplied to them free of cost, it would not benefit them. One reason, for this unpopularity of newspapers, is the illiteracy of the villagers. If one reads out the news to them they listen, but that too only for a short while. There is so much of work to be done that they cannot afford to waste their precious time in such 'trash' (so it appears to them). One of the investigators of the Department of Anthropology used to read out the papers to them sometimes. The first day, there were many people sitting round, then as days passed by, their interest ebbed, and the investigator had to give up reading the papers to them. S. Singh, an employee in the High

Court at Lucknow, attributed the villagers' apathy to news to its strangeness. They do not understand it and do not believe anything of it. Most of the items seem to them to be same or similar. After all, what does it matter to them what happens elsewhere? Leave alone the far-off countries of America, England, Russia or China; what happens in Bombay or Delhi or Madras does not interest them. They know nothing about Border Incidents, Kashmir Problems or Goa. Their world is small and their horizon limited.

URBAN CONTACTS : ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

If the newspapers speak of something that happened in Burma, the villagers are not interested, but when a person who has been to Burma, tells them something about that country, they listen with great interest. The villagers learn not by reading, but by listening. Thus, city dwellers who visit the village, and villagers who visit the city play the chief role in broadening the outlook of the villagers. To increase contacts with the city, cycles have come as a boon, and they are the only means whereby the villagers can get to Lucknow quickly, the other alternatives being to walk or to go on the melon carts. But contacts with the city besides serving a good purpose, have also a baneful influence on the villagers. The young men are always waiting for an opportunity to go and see a film, and many of the films are not only useless, but even harmful to the simple villager. Losing faith in god, a blind adoption of the dress and styles of the city people, and squandering their wealth on worthless stuff are few of the other evils of urban influence. Thus, to a villager, gaining knowledge means also losing one's character; hence some villagers would rather be ignorant.

POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

During the last elections, the villagers supported the Congress party, and Jodh Singh, one of the prominent villagers claims to have composed a poem urging the villagers to cast their votes in favour of a particular candidate. A rough translation of the poem is as follows :

Do not give your vote to Bhaiyaji
The rightful owner of it is Sopiji
Bhaiyaji is running a big show
Trying to tempt everyone
But he takes bribes in secret with the Zamindars
And lets the throats of the villagers be cut
So, don't give your vote to Bhaiyaji
The rightful owner of it is Sopiji.

If you give your vote to Bhaiyaji
He will become the Chairman of the District Board
And then he will tax each and everyone
But if you give your vote to Sopiji
He will become the Chairman of the District Board
And will help all without discrimination
So, don't give your vote to Bhaiyaji
The rightful owner of it is Sopiji.
Go to the polling booths in Bhaiyaji's car
Eat the sweet-meats of Bhaiyaji
But give your vote for Sopinath
And don't forget him, when you cast your vote
Because for your sake O ! brother farmers
He has been to prison
And suffered hardships in furthering your cause.
So, don't give your vote for Bhaiyaji
The rightful owner of it is Sopiji.

Jodh Singh is of the opinion that many villagers voted for Sopinath because of his efforts and because of this poem.

Though many of the villagers voted for the Congress party, they are by no means satisfied with the present Government. Their complaint is that land taxes, revenue taxes and water taxes have been increased, but on the other hand, the price of wheat has been cut with the result that the villagers are subject to economic hardships. They feel that the present government does nothing for their good but is only eager to levy more taxes. The present government must go; it does not matter which party comes into power, as long as it is not the ruling party. Even if the new party should prove worse than the previous one, the villagers will not vote for the former again. Such are the vehement opinions of the villagers. The fact is that the villagers know very little about the working of the present government but are critical of it due to certain reasons.

For one thing, this government brought about the Zamindari abolition and so the Thakurs, who were prosperous land-owners have a grudge against the Government. The lower castes who profited by the Zamindari abolition are also not pleased with the government, for the present tax-collectors are very strict, while in the olden days the Zamindars were not so. Further, they feel that if the Government could deprive the Thakurs of their lands, it could very easily take away their lands too, and they look upon the Government scheme of land consolidation as a step towards robbing them of their lands. In Zamindari days, the higher castes were very helpful to the lower castes in many ways, but they are not so now. Formerly, the Zamindars used to settle all disputes, and if anyone was arrested by the Police,

the Zamindars spoke up for him and got him released. Now the Panchayat and Gram Sabha are dominated by the Thakurs and they sometimes take a supercilious attitude towards the lower castes. Further, if any of the lower caste people is involved in a police case, the Thakurs no longer help him.

The most bitter critic of the present Government is Pandit Shukla who attributes the present relaxation in inter-caste relations to the Government. In his opinion deviation from the traditional caste rules is dangerous to the Hindu community. There are many others of Shukla's mind, who feel that the Government has no right to interfere with caste rules which are the affairs of *Bhagwan* (God).

Comparing the present Government with the old foreign rule, the villagers say that under British regime they lived peacefully and that the Government did not interfere in their affairs unnecessarily. Further at the time of the British rule, they say, that justice was meted out with fairness and the wrongdoer was punished, but now often the wrongdoer escapes and the innocent is punished, for there is much corruption and bribery among those in power. There are a few villagers who say that they would be happy if the British came back, for they say that there is no one in this country who is able to administer justice well. On the other hand, most people are anxious that they should have a hand in the administration of the country, particularly of their village.

'In the next elections we will vote for the American Government', said a villager once, and when it was pointed out to him that there will be no American candidate, he said, 'then we will not vote for any party'. When Mr. S., an American research scholar was in the village, he frequently doled out money to the villagers, so he was looked upon as a kind and generous man. Hence there are a few villagers who say that all Americans are good and trustworthy, and would prefer American rule to either the British or the present Governments. But opinions to the contrary are not lacking, for some say that Mr. S. was generous only because he wanted some secret information from them.

The villagers do not know much about politics or Government affairs or about the different forms of Government. Democracy, to them, is the same as Monarchy. Those who go to Lucknow have heard the names of the parties—Congress, Socialist, Communist and Jan Sangh, but they know nothing about the aims and objects of these parties. Villagers do realise the importance of elections, and know that they have the power to a certain extent of selecting or rejecting those who are to be in authority.

But the main test they apply to judge the competence of the administration, is their own welfare—what the administration has done or can do, the rest is no concern of theirs. Here lies the field

of human relations, completely untouched, anonymous and vacant, and here lies the opportunity of the social scientist to create conditions for better realisation of their hopes and ambitions and of their obligations in a Welfare State. Education alone cannot achieve miracles. We have placed all our eggs in the same basket. There are fields of human potentiality, and understanding which require to be discovered, if we want to rehabilitate our villages. Mere going back to the village would be continuing an illusion.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS IN A MALWA VILLAGE

ADRIAN C. MAYER

One of the major influences of recent years on the Indian countryside has been the concept of what is called *pañcāyat raj*—the rule of the *pañcāyat*, or elected committee—within the village and the local region. The inauguration of these committees is by no means of recent feature in many parts of India. In Madras, for example, village committees date from as long ago as 1884¹ and village, *taluk* and district committees were operating in one form or another in most of the provinces of British India² and in many Princely States³ before India became independent. The difference between the periods before and after 1947 lies in the greater emphasis now being placed on the role of the local committees in the administration and development of the country,⁴ and the added responsibilities which are given to them. In some States, for instance, it is proposed to make over the headman's tax collecting duties to the village committee, which used previously to have only minor administrative functions.

This policy is not without risk. Accounts have been published to show us that, because of internal factors, the village committee may not work smoothly. In one place, for example, lowcaste numerical predominance enabled the control of the Village Committee to be wrested from high-caste land owners. But the latter would not support the program of the Village Committee, and they had enough money to defend themselves in a suit brought by the Village Committee against them. The Committee's members were not wealthy enough to finance the case and bring about their compliance, and finally stopped trying to make the Committee work.⁵

Such situations have been mentioned in other village studies too⁶. And the main emphasis of the writing about *pancayat raj* has so far been on the progress and difficulties within the individual village.

Research in Malwa, Central India, was made possible by a Research Fellowship of The Australian National University, Canberra, whose assistance I gratefully acknowledge.

¹ Rao, 1954 : 104.

² see Tinker 1954 : Chap. XI for a survey of committees in this area.

³ e.g., the description for Kolhapur State (Rao 1954 : 51).

⁴ It is, however, notable that the Indian Constitution only makes necessary the development of village bodies. Regional committees are not mentioned, as Sastri remarks (Sastri 1957 : 29), and I suggest that this is in line with the general lack of emphasis and even data for this intermediate level of local government.

⁵ Cohn 1955 : 71-2.

⁶ e.g., Marriott n.d. : 106-08.

There is discussion of the formal aspect of local government at other levels¹ but little information on its actual operation. This is in line with the general trend of research, which has centred on the village.

But, just as anthropologists now agree that a study of a single village does not give an adequate picture of Indian rural society, so other levels in the hierarchy of local government are also worthy of attention. In this article my interest centres on Village Committees (*gānv pañcāyat*) composed of several nearby settlements², and on the Central Committee (*Kendra pañcāyat*). The latter is a body composed of representatives from a number of Village Committees, these being elected by the Village Committee members from amongst their number.

There are two inter-connected aspects of the Central Committee's operation. One concerns the sessions of the Committee, and deals with the actions it takes, and the relations members have with each other. The other is the effect that the Central Committee has on relations between the villagers who are not representatives. Clearly there can be no hard and fast division between the two; for the attitudes of the villagers towards the Central Committee will be influenced by the attitude of their representative. But the two can be separated for the purposes of research into a study of the Central Committee in session, on the one hand, and a study of the elections to the Central Committee on the other. For it is during the elections that the villager's attitudes are clearest.

Elections to the Central Committee have a different significance from those to the Village Committee. This is not just because the former is a more influential body, whose membership carries prestige. It is also because the Central Committee members are true representatives of their Village Committees, whereas the Village Committee members do not necessarily have any greater influence in the Village Committee than fellow villagers who are not members.

The difference lies in the traditional and the present constitution of such gathering, and it is expressed by the two words 'council' and 'committee'. The former is defined as 'an assembly or meeting for consultation or advice', the latter, on the other hand, is 'a body of persons appointed or elected for some specific business or function',³ The main variation is the lack of specific membership in the case of the council, and the presence of a clearly defined membership of the committee.

This is well shown by my Indian data. The subcaste or village council traditionally may have a leader (*sarpañc*, *jāt patel*) and a

¹ see, for instance, Venkatarangaiya's discussion of the policy of devolution of power from officials to District Committees (Venkatarangaiya 1941.)

² There is a Village Committee for every 1, 200 people and most settlements fall short of this population.

³ Both definitions from the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.

definite number of caste or village elders as its members. But the general public of subcaste or village can, in fact, contribute to the discussion on equal terms. And the feeling of the whole meeting, rather than that of the senior members, tends to be considered when a decision is to be made. The Village Committee, though having elected members, also tends to be a council. The several settlements which compose it are geographically close, and people can come to its meetings quite easily. The gatherings are, in my experience, held in a public place where anyone can come; and members of the Village Committee appear reluctant to take decisions unless they are sure of popular support. There is little of the system of representation at this level.

The Central Committee, on the other hand, is much more nearly a committee than a council¹. Its meetings take place far from the villages, in the market town; and its deliberations concern wide policies which affect all the villages in the Committee, but about which individual villagers may not have definite opinions. Its decisions are taken without discussion by any but the representatives who sit on the Committee.

Because the Central Committee depends solely on its members for action, the elections of these men, and of a chairman from amongst their number, are more important than the elections to the Village Committees. The latter may reflect factional patterns in the village, but do not necessarily alter the pattern of action. If, for instance, faction A is in control of a Village Committee, with a faction B outside it, it is quite possible that there will be deadlock with no agreement possible over the work to be done. If, later, faction B is elected, and faction A is then outside, deadlock may continue to reign. For though the composition of the Committee has changed, there is the same lack of consensus which inhibited action by the former Committee.

This situation would not arise in the Central Committee, for the support of factions outside the Committee is not necessary here. Such factions could, of course, prevent resolutions of the Committee from taking effect in the villages, but they cannot block decision-making by the Central Committee. The only cases of deadlock in the Central Committee would occur when both factions were represented on the Committee, but these would only be temporary. In one case, the weaker faction stayed away from Committee meetings for several months, and so prevented a *quorum*. But then the supervising officials ruled that its members would lose their seats if they did not attend. And, once a *quorum* existed, the weaker faction could only delay action but not prevent a vote eventually being taken, when a simple majority brought about the Committee's decision.

¹ Use of the term *panchāyat* for both forms of body is confusing, I think, and I have therefore used the English words only.

The material that follows describes electioneering in a Village Committee which I witnessed in 1956 in Madhya Bharat State. My main purpose is to draw out of this account the nature of inter-village contacts stimulated by the new forms of local government. For such contacts are new in an area into which local government was introduced only in 1946, and they are creating another aspect of village and inter-village affairs. The account deals with the selection of leaders of the Village Committee as well as of the representative to the Central Committee. Not only did both take place at the same time, but the electioneering at the two levels was inextricably mixed, as we shall see.

The Village Committee was composed of three nearby settlements. The most important of these, Piplia, lay on the main road and had a population of 557 in 1951. The Village Committee took its name, and it provided five of the seven members. The village of Implipura was reached from Piplia by a mile of cart track. It contained 591 inhabitants, but contributed only one member to the Village Committee, a fact I shall return to. The third settlement, Sarukheri, was little more than a hamlet, having only 103 people. It stood quite near Implipura, and sent one member to the Village Committee.

In August, 1956, the Village Committee met to elect members to the following positions; the chairmanship (*sarpañc*) and vice-chairmanship (*up-sarpañc*) of the Village Committee, and its representatives in the Central Committee and the Justice Committee (*nyāy pañcāyat*). The Central Committee had existed since 1951, being originally composed of representatives from thirteen village Committees including Piplia. But at the beginning of 1956 it was merged with other Central Committees to contain men sent from fifty-two Village Committees, as well as four 'reserved' seats for women and Harijans. The members of the Justice Committee, on the other hand, had been reduced from those sent by thirteen to those sent by five Village Committees. In both cases, however, the representatives sent from Piplia would be part of a larger local government institution.

The choice of the Central Committee representative was not only a matter depending on the Piplia Village Committee's internal politics. For this representative would help to elect the chairman of the Central Committee from amongst his fellows. And a rivalry had started over that election which covered all the constituent villages. The main contestants for the chairmanship of the Central Committee were a Rajput and a Brahmin. The latter lived in a village called Bercha, which bordered Piplia. And so it was that a close Rajput colleague of the Brahmin came to Piplia on the day before the election, when candidates were to be formally nominated.

Though he came to ensure that a representative friendly to the Brahmin candidate would be sent by Piplia to the Central Committee,

the Bercha Rajput did not give this as the reason for his visit. Instead, he maintained that he had heard that the meeting was likely to produce dissension, and that he had therefore come along as a neighbour or boundary brother (*kāṅkar bhāi*) to help towards a peaceable decision.

This was the one and only time that I heard the term 'boundary brother' used. And, indeed, the impression it gives of ties of cooperation and affectionate concern reaching from one village to another runs counter to other accounts I was given of inter-village relations. Formerly, it seems, villages were separate units, linked only by the ties of kinship between their inhabitants of the same subcaste. In the unsettled days of the early 19th century, villages were maintained by the courage and acumen of their headmen, who had to defend the place from marauders. Later, in the days of under-population of the land, a successful headman was one who could keep his villagers from leaving the settlement¹.

Under these conditions, rivalry between headmen of nearby villages was common. This sometimes took the form of boundary disputes. Village boundaries were sometimes marked by pillars (*mināra*) in which were immured distinguishing signs (*nishān*) of the adjacent villages. But even these safeguards did not prevent minor alterations of the boundaries. And villagers talk of a yearly 'beating of the bounds' by the headmen of bygone days, to see that no land had been taken from the village (and presumably to do some encroaching themselves, if possible). Boundary cases still occur, too, though they are now settled in the Courts and not by the prowess of headmen.

Apart from such times of hostility, there has been a general feeling of separation and disassociation between villages. This is evidenced by the way commensal rules apply over the locality. For the castes from whose hands a caste group cannot eat may vary from village to village. In one settlement, for instance, Rajputs and Khatis eat each other's food; in another settlement they do not do so. The dilemma in which visitors are placed is solved, in the words of a Rajput; "We accept the customs (*rivāj*) of the villages where we are guests, unless they concern the low castes... For instance, suppose the Rajput and Khati of Piplia village go on a wedding party to a village where Rajputs and Khatis are allowed to eat together, though they do not do so in Piplia. They will eat in the one line with their hosts; and it will not be penalised by the Piplia subcaste councils if there are [to them] forbidden people in that line. For this is the custom of that

¹ The famine of 1899-1900, and the influenza epidemic of 1919 were the last checks to the population, which since then has risen steadily. There is now no empty land.

village." In this way, villages were to some extent separate social systems. Inter-village contact existed mainly between kin, and even quite near villages might therefore be without contact if they consisted of different sets of endogamous subcastes. In fact, there was often little subcaste correspondence. Rajputs, for instance, existed in only 8 of 24 villages near to Piplia. Lack of kin and subcaste ties did not, of course, prevent people from knowing about other villages. My own informants were quite able to tell me which were 'prosperous', "quarrelsome", 'unreliable', 'backward' villages, etc., even when they had no subcaste mates there. Usually they judged from the quality of the headman and the influential men of the village. But this is not the same as having personal contacts with these villages.

I have stressed the relative separation of nearby villages because it puts the present increase of inter-village contacts into perspective. This increase comes on the one hand between the two or three neighbouring settlements which have been joined into one Village Committee; and on the other hand it can be seen in the wider area, between the fifty-two village Committees of the Central Committee. Both aspects emerged in the electioneering at Piplia.

The situation in Piplia found by the Bercha emissary, whom I shall call Dalip Singh, was as follows. The Village Committee was composed of : Ranjit Singh, a Rajput (of a different endogamous subcaste from Dalip Singh's); Tarlok Singh, a Rajput and a relative of Ranjit Singh; Gopal Prasad, a Brahmin; Gopal Prasad's wife, as the woman member and Bheru, a Balai, as the Harijan member. All these lived in Piplia; the other members were Husein, a Muslim from Imlipura, and Badrilal, the headman of Sarukheri. Of these, only the first three men and Husein were eager to have a post in the Village or Central Committee, and it is with these that the account mostly deals.

Dalip Singh arrived at Piplia at about one o'clock. All the members had assembled (save for the Balai and Gopal Prasad's wife; these never came, but could have been summoned if their votes had been needed). With them was the Piplia schoolmaster, in charge of registering the nomination papers at four o'clock that afternoon. The actual election was to take place at eleven o'clock next day and, thanks to the schoolmaster's large and noisy alarm clock, both operations were carried out on the dot. Since this was a time of peak agricultural activity, both meetings were held without a crowd of villagers to witness them. It was an exceptional circumstance, and one that enabled me to assess the changing currents of alliance with greater precision than if a dozen men had been talking at once.

Canvassing for the four positions at stake was made at two levels. The first was that of rivalry between members of the Piplia Village Committee as to who should be the new chairman. This was partly

based on long-standing differences between Ranjit Singh and Gopal Prasad (the latter had been headman of the village, but had been forced to relinquish this hereditary position in favour of the former some ten years ago). And partly it was based on a clash of local patriotism between the men of Piplia and Implipura. The second level was represented by Dalip Singh's activities. Overtly designed to prevent disputes in the Village Committee, they were actually aimed at the selection of a representative for the Central Committee who would support the Bercha candidate for the chairmanship of that body. And so in the day's discussions both new kinds of inter-village contacts were present, those centred on the Village Committee, and those on the Central Committee.

Within the Village Committee, Ranjit Singh (the incumbent) and Gopal Prasad were rivals for the chairmanship; and at the level of the Central Committee representation, Dalip Singh was in favour of either Ranjit Singh or Tarlok Singh—for both Gopal Prasad and Husein were thought to be against the Bercha candidate for the Central Committee chairmanship.

The meeting began with an appeal for unity by Dalip Singh. Speaking as a 'boundary brother' he made a long speech about the virtues of unity in a committee, and ended by hoping that the four men would each be given a post, and that nominations would be unanimously made. The assembled Village Committee members echoed these pious hopes, and then allowed Dalip Singh and Ranjit Singh to leave the meeting house and talk privately.

Ranjit Singh at once said that he would support Husein for the Piplia Village Committee chairmanship if his own candidature looked like being unsuccessful. This he would do to prevent Gopal Prasad filling the post. Such reasoning suited Dalip Singh perfectly; for one of his aims was to keep Husein away from the Central Committee representation. He therefore proposed that Husein be nominated as chairman, and that Gopal Prasad be sent to the Justice Committee—an innocuous post which is often used as a consolation prize. This left the reliable Ranjit Singh for the Central Committee, and Tarlok Singh as vice-chairman of the Village Committee. Ranjit Singh agreed, and they returned to the meeting house, where Dalip Singh broached this plan, in his role as mediator.

The answer was an impassioned speech from Gopal Prasad. For generations his forebears had been headmen of Piplia, he said. And now that he had been deprived of this position because of a (to him) petty misdemeanour, he should at least be the Village Committee chairman. Appealing directly to Ranjit Singh, who sat with eyes on the carpet and fingers twisting, he asked for a chance to run the Village Committee for three years, as Ranjit Singh himself had done.

Was the latter so selfish as to let the control pass to a resident of Imlipura ?

At this, Husein jumped up, crying that Imlipura had as many people as Piplia and its inhabitants were just as qualified as the Piplia men to hold the Village Committee chairmanship. It was wrong to have parties (*pālti*—a derivation from the English word) of this kind, he continued amid a growing clamour as others started to talk. Gopal Prasad was trying to assure Husein that he was not hostile, but had only been rhetorical, and Ranjit Singh started to tell Gopal Prasad that the village headman should also be the Village Committee chairman, and that he therefore claimed the post as his 'right', but would let Gopal Prasad carry on the actual operation of the Committee as vice-chairman if he wished. Only Dalip Singh sat silent, though he had been the foremost opponent of such internecine argument. As he said afterwards, the quarrel between Husein and Gopal Prasad was to his advantage, for though it was now certain that neither would support the other for the Village Committee chairmanship, this would also apply for the place on the Central Committee, where he feared that one of them might oppose the Bercha candidate for the chairmanship.

By the time the tumult had died down, it was after three o'clock. Amidst warnings from the schoolmaster that the time limit for nominations could not be deferred by a minute, Dalip Singh appealed to Ranjit Singh to stand down and so prevent the need for a vote. (By this, Dalip Singh calculated that either Gopal Prasad or Husein would be elected, and so be kept away from the Central Committee representation). But Ranjit Singh was adamant, saying that he would sign a bond giving Gopal Prasad the real power, if he would only stand for the vice-chairmanship. Afterwards, people hinted at irregularities in Ranjit Singh's administration, and said that the reason he wanted to prevent Gopal Prasad's chairmanship was to make sure that he would not discover them on taking over the files and accounts as headman.

Deadlock having been reached, everyone started to fill out candidature forms. This was done privately, and rumours floated around the room that everyone had entered for the chairmanship, that nobody had done so, and so forth. But at four o'clock precisely the schoolmaster announced two candidates for the Village Committee chairmanship—Husein and Gopal Prasad, and a sole entrant for the vice-chairmanship—none other than Ranjit Singh.

The contest between Husein and Gopal Prasad was to be expected, in view of their dispute of the last hour. But Ranjit Singh's withdrawal was a surprise for everybody. He had presumably reckoned that Gopal Prasad could be sure of at least three votes—his own, his wife's and the Balai's. But he himself could only count on his

own and Tarlok Singh's, since he knew that Husein would now enter the contest and would vote for himself. He therefore withdrew and swung his own and Tarlok Singh's vote behind Husein. The deciding voice thus lay with Badrilal, who had up to now been ignored and silent, as presumably befitted the emissary of such a tiny village.

Now, at once, Badrilal became the centre of persuasion and flattery. Each side vied for his favour, and Dalip Singh took him aside and hinted that he vote for Husein—for in that way the latter would become chairman and so ineligible to go to the Central Committee. Badrilal was, in fact, non-committal. It was said that he would give his vote to the party which gave him most refreshment at the nearby liquor shop during the evening.

At this stage, people broke up until the next day's election. Dalip Singh went home well pleased, calculating that either Gopal Prasad or Husein would be shielded from the Central Committee by being elected Village Committee chairman, and hoping that another post would be found for the survivor.

At the election next day, there was no need for a vote. Husein had withdrawn his name; for he had learnt during the evening that Badrilal would provide the fourth vote for Gopal Prasad. The latter was then declared elected, with his rival Ranjit Singh as vice-chairman, and he thereupon made a speech promising to do his utmost for the Village Committee, and to work for the sake of unity in all its deliberations.

Dalip Singh, who had come over from Bercha with one of that village's headmen, then spoke, saying that the major business of the meeting was yet to come, *i.e.* the election of the representative on the Central Committee. He stressed the power of the Central Committee, the large amounts of money available for grants to the Village Committees, the number of villages assembled under its aegis, and the need to send only the most qualified man as representative. But this speech lost most of its effect, for the Piplia men counted the election to their own Village Committee as the important feature of the meeting. Gopal Prasad, in answer, opined that this matter could easily be settled, and the Bercha men at once started to feel their way towards finding out his views, since he was now the most influential man on the Village Committee.

The first fact to emerge was that Gopal Prasad thought Husein to be unsuitable for the Central Committee. This was hardly surprising, after their contest. More significant was his remark that Husein's desire for a position on the Village or Central Committee was prompted by a fellow Muslim in the nearby village of Faura. He castigated this man as a meddler in the affairs of other villages, and hinted that it was well his efforts had been frustrated. Now, this Muslim was known to be an opponent of the Bercha candidate

for the Central Committee. This indicated to the Bercha people that Gopal Prasad was on their side. Disregarding the fact that his remarks about meddlers could equally well apply to them, they at once started to sing his praises, as though they had never supposed that he was against them. Soon after, another indication of Gopal Prasad's views came in talk of the situation in another village. Here, he spoke well of a fellow Brahmin who was engaged in an election contest with a Rajput opponent of the Bercha candidate.

Having settled whose side Gopal Prasad was on, it was an easy matter to agree on Tarlok Singh as representative to the Central Committee. Though certainly not the most qualified person for that post (being only semi-literate), he was an inoffensive person, known to favour the Bercha candidate. Gopal Prasad himself was sent to the Justice Committee, and Husein was thereby left with no position at all. Later, I taxed Dalip Singh with this contradiction of his point that each of the four men should have a post. The only reason he gave for this reversal was that Husein was unreliable, being a Muslim. But he had himself supported Husein at one time, and he was clearly excluded to please Gopal Prasad. So the elections ended, with speeches of mutual esteem, and fulsome declarations that the unity of the villages had not been disturbed.

* * * * * *

The distinction I made between a committee's internal operation and its connexions with the general population represented is valid for the Village as well as for the Central Committee. The ways in which people of different villages regard each other may or may not be reflected in the relations between Village Committee members. In one kind of situation, the leaders of the Village Committee can also be the most important people in the group of villages, and thus the 'natural' leaders for any such combination. On the other hand, each constituent village may think itself superior, though providing leaders who are roughly equal in influence and status to each other. These leaders may not yet have come into conflict if they are of different caste, and have thus not had a basis on which to act together. But they will be rivals on any Committee they attend together.

Examples of both situations can be seen in the locality around Piplia. In one four-settlement Village Committee the main part is played by a Rajput headman. His lineage has provided leaders in the largest of these villages for many generations, and he himself is wealthy and his position as yet untouched. The other villages have Khati, Ahir and Gujar headmen of more recent vintage, and these are content to subordinate themselves to their chairman. The Rajput is powerful, his village the most important, and the Village Committee runs smoothly.

In Piplia, on the other hand, there is no such congruence. Piplia itself is the major village of the three. Though it is small than Imlipura, its position on the road and its former status as the seat of a landlord have given it prestige. Further, the headmen of Imlipura are Muslims, and their position is less assured since 1947. Though there have been no overt manifestations of prejudice, people are unwilling to give them much power. But the men of Imlipura do not accept Piplia's preeminence on the Village Committee. As Husein said, they feel that they also have men qualified to lead the Committee. There is therefore conflict between Piplia and Imlipura as villages, but no corresponding division in the Village Committee. For the Imlipura representative is not powerful enough to split the Committee seriously. Here, Piplia men could lead, were it not for the rivalry between Ranjit Singh and Gopal Prasad which has slowed up the Committee's activities.

On the whole, most Village Committees are composed of a main settlement and lesser villages, for it would be hard to find places exactly equal in numbers and influence. Where there is marked inequality, the tendency is for people of the larger village to do all the work (often only in their own village) and for the smaller settlement to retire completely. This was so in the case of Bercha, a village of some nine hundred people, which had been coupled with Palia, a village of only three hundred and fifty. No work had been done in the latter, and its representatives rarely came to the meetings. They felt 'jungly' (as it was said) in front of the more sophisticated Bercha folk. This might have been obviated had the leaders been of the same subcaste, and thus kinsmen; but the Bercha people were at the same time of higher caste status. The Village Committee worked fairly smoothly because the relations of its members from different villages were the same as the relations between the villages generally.

The operation of the Village Committee, then, depends in part on two things; the relations between the leaders, and the relations between the villages they represent. Disputes occur between members of the Committee, whether they come from the same or from different villages; and they depend on personal factors, as well as on relative status, etc. Differences stemming from relations between villages as wholes¹ are rather different. Though to some extent reflexes of the relationships of members, they are also based on the constitution and reputation of the villages joined in the Committee (e.g. the position of Husein in the electioneering corresponded to the weak position of the Muslim-dominated village of Imlipura).

¹By 'wholes' here I include no more than the people who are concerned with the Committee. The inter-relations of say, Harijan castes in different villages would have little effect on the Committees in this area.

The problem of selecting villages to group together in a Village Committee is one which may exercise the administration. At present I think that the groupings have been made largely for administrative convenience. Some appear not to be working very well. Thus, Bercha and Palia are divided by a fairly steep range of hills and communication is difficult. When added to the differences of size and dominant caste, this goes a long way towards explaining why there is not more participation in the Village Committee by Palia men. To the north of Bercha, on the other hand, lies Palassia, a village of the same size as Palia, but easily accessible from Bercha and with a headman who is a Khati, a caste which is numerically, though not politically, dominant in Bercha. It would seem easier to have cooperation between Bercha and Palassia than between Bercha and Palia, and the Village Committee might have been constituted thus.

But this is all highly speculative. It might well be argued that villages with the same major caste groups would be more liable to quarrel than to cooperate, since the affairs of the caste would be brought into the arena of the Village Committee. Nevertheless, such hypotheses need to be measured against the working of the Village Committees: for their proof or disproof will tell us something about the effectiveness of the Village Committee.

The difficulties inherent in the multi-village Village Committee are reflected in the fact that in some cases these have been disbanded, and uni-village bodies formed¹. The successful Committees appear to be almost as large as some of the Central Committees I have described. Thus, in Cochin the average number of voters in a Union (the smallest type of Committee) was 12,000² and the Union Boards in Bengal had between ten and twelve villages each³. These are bodies large enough to avoid petty inter-village disputes, perhaps; but the two- or three-village Committee, with a total population of under 1,500 is less likely to do so⁴. A novel solution, and one which has not to my knowledge been adopted, was that nearby villages could 'federate' for specific tasks over which they wanted to help each other, and would then separate into univillage Committees afterwards⁵. This would minimise the risk of having unwilling bedfellows in a Committee, who were powerless to escape each other's embraces. But the administration needed for such a pattern would have to be very flexible, perhaps more so than is practicable.

¹ Rao 1954: 7.

² Drummond 1937: 40.

³ Tinker 1954: 200.

⁴ Tinker remarks that factions were less prevalent in the Bengal multi-village Unions than they were in municipalities: (1954:206).

⁵ Drummond 1937: 47.

The history of the Piplia election is interesting. A period of intense canvassing ended in the withdrawal of rivals and the unopposed election of a single man for each post. I do not know what happened during the evening between the first and second days, but it was evidently sufficient to make Badrilal's object of support public. This dislike of an open vote is widespread in rural Indian society¹. It springs, perhaps, from the ideal pattern of the *pañcāyat* which should take none but unanimous decisions, whether truly or only overtly, and this, in turn, may express the unwillingness of people to estrange those with whom they must live in close contact in other spheres of life. Of the eight Village Committee elections I noted, no fewer than six were decided unanimously. It is the days before the election, rather than the polling day itself, which are often more significant for the observer.

The elections in Piplia also marked a stage in the canvassing for the Central Committee's election of officers. For Dalip Singh took the opportunity to come and assess, and influence, which way the Piplia vote would be cast. This he did as member of a more important village and the dominant Rajput caste. We must note that he did not fill the role of an outside arbitrator. There was no expectation of an intermediary who would help in the elections, as there is in so many other activities. (For instance, marriages are contracted through a match-maker, most business deals have a broker, and people are generally unwilling to have important conversations without a middle-man). Dalip Singh's canvassing, and his efforts to find a peaceful solution, were accepted as one among several such endeavours; and there was no real attempt to let him allocate the posts, though this was mentioned to him as a polite gesture.

It is a commentary on the relative isolation of nearby villages that Dalip Singh should have wondered whether Gopal Prasad was an opponent of the Bercha candidate for the Central Committee chairmanship (especially when both were Brahmins). It is also significant that the way he found out Gopal Prasad's views was by identifying his caste and kin ties with people in other villages whose views were known. For the basis on which many representatives to the Central Committee decided which candidate to support for the chairmanship was caste membership. This is hardly to be wondered at, in the first election in a newly constituted body. Many representatives would have had no contact with the candidates (neither socially, nor as fellow Committee members). They thus seized on the only link which they had with either candidate—common caste, or membership of a caste with which they were more in sympathy.

Both candidates condemned 'casteism', saying that they should be

¹ Not only in India, but also amongst overseas Indian (cf. Mayer 1956: 101).

judged solely on their capabilities. But, in fact, they also played on this easy method of recruitment. Sometimes the common caste link was between candidate and representative. But sometimes it was between the candidate and the most powerful person in the representative's village (as in the case of the Bercha Brahmin candidate and Gopal Prasad.). There is in the latter case no correspondence between the caste of the representative and the candidate for whom he voted (e.g. Tarlok Singh supported the Bercha Brahmin, rather than his Rajput rival). But caste undoubtedly played a major part in the elections.

The Central Committee may thus be a factor of change in several ways. It may draw villages together through common activities in Committee meetings: it may bring closer ties through electoral alliances between villages (or it may estrange them): it may affect Village Committee elections, insofar as these are reflexes of Central Committee manoeuvring: and it may provide a focus for the rivalry between castes in the region. In the latter context, we might say that caste becomes a political division of society, at the same time as it is losing its position as a ritual division.

REFERENCES

- Cohn, B. S., 1955. 'The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste' in Marriott, ed. *Village India*. Chicago.
- Drummond, J. G., 1937. *Panchayats in India*. Bombay.
- Marriott, McK. n.d., 'Social Structure & Change in a Village of U.P.' in Srinivas ed. *India's Villages*. Calcutta.
- Mayer, A. C., 1956. 'Associations in Fiji Indian Rural Society', *American Anthropologist*, LVIII, 1.
- Rao, A. V. Raman, 1954. *Structure & Working of Village Panchayats*. Poona.
- Sastri, K. N. V., 1957. *Principles of District Administration in India*. Delhi.
- Tinker, H., 1954. *The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan & Burma*. London.
- Venkataramaiya, M., 1941. 'The Scope of Local Self-Government'. *Indian Journal of Political Science*, II, 3.

HINDU SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN VILLAGE MAJRA

PRABHAT CHANDRA

Majra is a typical Indian village situated in the most beautiful surroundings of the Doon Valley in Uttar Pradesh. This village lies on the borders of the city of Dehra Dun and is on the second milestone on the Saharanpur road. It faces the mighty Himalayas in the north and the Siwalik hills in the south while the two great rivers, the Ganga and the Jamuna, flow along the other two sides of the valley. The village is situated at an altitude of 2000 ft. above the sea level and is spread over an area of 302.39 acres out of which 261.05 acres of land are under cultivation. The temperature ranges from 40°F in winter to about 108°F in summer. The annual rainfall varies from 80-100 inches. The *Kharif* crop is sown in the months of June-August and is harvested in the months of September and October. Then it is followed by the *Rabi* crop. The conditions of soil, climate and rainfall have made this region ideal for rice cultivation. The Basmati rice of Majra takes its place with the best rice that is produced in any part of the country. Rice is the chief *kharif* crop in this part of the State while the important *rabi* crops are wheat, maize, barley, peas and charry. Sugarcane too is produced once a year. But the agricultural production seldom reaches the optimum point due to the general backwardness of the region. A farmer has, on an average, less than 6 bighas of land which is much less than the size of an economic holding. The old and obsolete methods of farming, defective arrangements for water distribution, absence of adequate facilities for the marketing and finance of agricultural goods and a multitude of other factors have all conspired together in rendering the rural economy of Majra a deficit one. Land reforms have been introduced in Majra since the abolition of the Zamindari system in the State but only 51 per cent of the farmers have so far acquired *Bhumidari* rights in land. We have 43 per cent *Sirdars*, and 6 per cent *Assamis*. The annual revenue assessment of the village is reported to be Rs. 3600/-

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The total population of Majra at present is 1689 out of which 1193 persons are Hindus, including the Harijans. The rest of the population consists of Sikhs, Christians, Muslims, etc. The entire rural population consists of 325 families out of which 242 are Hindus and Harijans. The present survey covers all the 242 families consisting of 1193 persons.

The Hindu population of this village falls into two groups, the high caste Hindus and the Harijans. The former included the Brahmins, Rajputs, Khattris, Vishyas, Jains etc. The Harijans have a relatively lower social status and consist of the Kumhars, Dhobis, Nais, Chamar, Passi, Bodh, Bhangi. The various castes of the village can be arranged in the descending order of the social status with the Brahmins occupying the highest position. They are followed by the Rajputs who claim to be the Kshatriyas. It was not possible for us to correctly ascertain whether the Khattris have a higher status than the Vaishyas or vice versa because each of these castes claims to have a higher status than the other. The ancient records of the country show the Brahmins to be the highest group followed by the Kshatriyas (Rajputs) who were a warrior class. The Vaishyas constituted a business community and occupied the third place on the social scale. The modern Khattris probably were not there. But since the Khattris and Vaishyas are now engaged in more or less the same type of activities, we can safely bracket them together.

An interesting thing that we have noted amongst the Harijans of the village is the fact that they too are divided into two social groups. This division is based on the difference in the occupations. The Kumhars (potters), Nais (barbers) and Dhobis (washermen) are doing a relatively cleaner type of work and so enjoy a higher social status than the Chamars (cobblers), Pasis (scavengers) and Bhangis (sweepers), etc., who are included in the other group.

This caste system is the basis of the Hindu social organisation in the village under study. Each caste is strictly endogamous although a few cases of inter-caste marriages have been reported to us. A caste is generally divided into a number of subcastes but in this village only the higher castes have reported them. We came across the following subcastes amongst the higher caste Hindus in the course of our investigations :

Brahmins : Sharma, Dhimar, Raturi, Low, Bhardwaj, Bhardawan, Saraswat, Savar, Ghore, and Uppadhiya.

Rajputs : Karanwal, Ahluwalia, Maharati, Thakur, and Rawat.

Khattris : Soni, Khurrana, Arora, Budhwar, Ahluwalia, and Varma.

Vaishyas : Gupta, Aggarwal and Garg.

The Ahluwalia are included amongst the Rajputs as well as the Khattris. The Harijan castes did not report any subcastes.

CASTE AND EDUCATION

Our investigations in the village show that 67.3 per cent of the respondents in the village are absolutely illiterate persons who cannot even sign their names and are obliged to put their thumb impression whenever they have to sign any paper, The District Board is running

a primary school for the children in this village. Our investigations have shown that 26.8 per cent of the residents have received education upto the Matriculation standard while only 5.9 per cent of them have read more. The following table shows the statistics regarding castes and education.

TABLE 1
CASTE AND EDUCATION

Castes	Number of		Illiterates (Percentage)	Educated (Percentages)	
	families	members		Upto Matri- culation	Above Matri- culation
Brahmins	54	246	55.2	34.1	10.7
Rajputs	69	381	55.1	38.8	6.1
Khattris	18	75	48.0	32.0	20.0
Vaishyas	12	72	47.2	47.2	5.6
Other castes	13	72	79.0	19.3	1.7
Jains	1	6	66.6	33.4	Nil
Kumhars	12	63	95.2	4.8	Nil
Chamars	12	51	88.2	11.8	Nil
Dhobis	8	28	71.4	28.6	Nil
Nais	3	26	96.1	3.9	Nil
Passis	10	41	95.1	4.9	Nil
Other Harijans	30	142	97.9	2.1	Nil
Totals	242	1193	67.3	26.8	5.9

The above table clearly shows that the higher castes in the village attach greater importance to education; the Khattris and the Vaishyas have the largest number of educated persons. They are followed by the Brahmins and the Rajputs in order. The Brahmins, who were originally priests and scholars, seem to be losing ground in this respect. The percentage of illiteracy is very high amongst the Harijan families of the village. Our estimates show that only 7.6 per cent of the Harijans have read upto the Matriculation standard although many of them have not been able to pass this examination. We did not find a single Harijan in the whole of the village who had read beyond the Matriculation standard. The Dhobis and Chamars have, however, shown a higher percentage of educated persons than among other Harijans.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The largest percentage of population in this village is engaged in agricultural occupations like farming, rural industries and crafts,

etc. Nearly 18.5 per cent of the total rural population works as agricultural labourers. The following table shows the occupational distribution of the population.

TABLE 2
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

Occupations	Percentages
Farming	32.3
Rural industries and crafts	23.2
Agricultural workers	18.5
Independent businessmen, traders and shopkeepers	8.8
Other employees	17.2

In order to study the occupational distribution of the various castes in Majra, we have taken into account only the gainfully employed persons in the 242 families. Thus, out of 1193 persons, 405 were engaged in the various types of occupations while the remaining 788 persons constituted the non-earning class. This included women, children, old and invalid people, etc., and so have been excluded from this analysis. The distribution of castes according to the occupations is Shown in Table 3.

The table shows the change in the hereditary occupations of some of the castes in the village Majra. The Brahmins, who were originally priests and scholars, have now taken up almost every type of "clean" job. Thus, out of 81 gainfully employed Brahmins in the village, 51.86 per cent were engaged in farming, 7.40 per cent in rural industries and crafts and independent business each, and 29.64 percent were employees. The last group included school-masters, clerks, shop-assistants, etc. Only 3.70 per cent of them were found to be working as agricultural workers. Although economic pressure has forced the Brahmins to give up their hereditary occupations, still they attach great importance to the "cleanliness" of the job. None of them is prepared to do the work which is generally regarded to be "low", for example, the work of a barber, cobbler, washerman, etc. The Rajputs too are represented on almost every type of occupation which the rural society can provide them. Thus, out of 105 gainfully employed Rajputs, 51.42 per cent were farmers, 20 per cent were employed in services, 17.14 per cent in rural industries and crafts, 8.57 per cent in business, and a very small percentage of them (2.87) were agricultural workers. The Rajputs in this village are less fastidious about the cleanliness of the job than the Brahmins. They are willing to do every type of work except the "very dirty" one like that of the

sweeper, butcher, scavenger, etc. They are more interested in the income which a particular job can provide them. The Khattris and Vaishyas have no objection to farming and 44.44 and 33.33 per cent of them respectively were engaged in it. Moreover, they are excellent businessmen and a comparatively small percentage of them are interested in service.

So far as the Harijan population of the village is concerned, our investigations show that nearly all the Kumhars, Dhobis and Nais were carrying on their hereditary occupations of potters, washermen and barbers. These three constitute the upper class Harijans and consider themselves to be superior to the Chamars, Pasis, etc. There is not much of social intercourse between the higher and the lower classes of Harijans, the distinction between the higher and the lower classes being based on the difference in occupations. The upper class Harijans are fully satisfied with their jobs and are not willing to accept another work and are anxious to raise their incomes from their hereditary work. Their prestige, in a way, depends upon their ancestral professions. But a significant change has taken place in the case of the Chamars. Only 3 out of 51 Chamars were found to be doing cobbler's work. Nearly 50 per cent of them have now taken up farming while 33.33 per cent of them are agricultural workers. All the Pasis in the village were found to be working as agricultural workers.

An attempt has been made by us to arrange the various castes of Majra, according to their incomes. Since the interviewees were not in a position to give their incomes very accurately, rough estimates of income were prepared by us on the basis of the information furnished by the interviewees themselves. The following table shows the average income per family in the various castes.

TABLE 4
CASTES AND INCOMES

Castes	Number of families	Average income per family
		Rs.
Jains	1	175
Khattries	18	138
Rajputs	69	129
Vaishyas	12	124
Brahmins	54	91
Other castes	13	76
Kumhars	12	73
Chamars	12	60
Dhobis	8	59
Pasis	10	51
Other Harijans	30	48
Nais	3	37

The above arrangement of castes according to the incomes shows that the Brahmins, who enjoy the highest status in the social hierarchy and are so particular about the prestige of the job, get the fourth place. The Khattris of the village, who are mostly farmers, independent businessmen, traders and shopkeepers etc., top the above list. The Khattri families of Majra are enjoying a better standard of living than the others. They are followed by the Rajputs and the Vaishyas.

Amongst the Harijan families, the Kuhmars and the Chamars have the highest level of incomes. The Kuhmars have the highest status amongst the Harijans of the village and at the same time have the best standard of living... But the Nais, who occupy the second place in the Harijan social hierarchy of the village, have the lowest level of incomes. The Dhobis occupy the third place on the economic as well as the social scale. The Chamars, who occupy a very low position on the social scale, take the second place on the income scale. The relative position of the other lower castes on the income scale is obvious.

Nearly all the high caste Hindus of the village are enjoying a relatively higher level of incomes than the Harijans. The lowest income per family amongst the high caste Hindus was Rs. 76 which was more than the highest average monthly income enjoyed by a Harijan family which was found to be Rs. 73.

Our enquiries in this village have further revealed that nearly 30 per cent of the families were involved in debt; the debt per family ranged from Rs. 30 to Rs. 2000, the average being Rs. 340. About 35 per cent of the Brahmin families, 19 per cent of the Rajputs, 78 per cent of the Kumhars, and 25 per cent of the Chamars were found in debt. The other castes did not report any indebtedness.

INTER-CASTE RELATIONS

The influence of Hindu traditions on social attitudes and values is to be seen in the inter-caste relations in the village. A casual visitor to the village is sure to be greatly impressed by the peaceful atmosphere which generally prevails every where, but latent jealousies and caste rivalries manifest themselves on all important occasions like marriage, social gatherings, village elections, etc. The reorientation of social attitudes and values in a society where the human relations are conditioned by the rules of endogamy and hypergamy has not been consistent with the growth of modern ideas and rational thinking. Poverty, illiteracy and the hold of religious ideas are mainly responsible for the general backwardness of the rural folks here. All the castes are strictly endogamous and insist on marriage within the caste. Our investigations showed that 91 per cent of the people in the village are vehemently opposed to the idea of inter-caste marriages. The high caste Hindus, particularly the Brahmins, were strongly against

such marriages which they condemn as foreign, irreligious and immoral. But the insistence on this rule of marriage diminishes as we move from the Brahmins towards the lower social groups. Thus, all Brahmins, 96 per cent Rajputs, 95 percent Khattris, and 89 per cent Vaishyas had insisted on marriage within the caste. Amongst the lower castes the Kumhars have flatly refused to have marriage relations with the other castes. Our enquiries amongst the Harijans of the village further showed that 97 per cent of the Nais, 96.6 per cent of the Dhobis, 89.3 per cent of the Chamars and 71.5 per cent of the Pasis were not in favour of inter-caste marriages. We had received a 100 per cent negative replies when the families, which were opposed to the idea of inter-caste marriages, were asked the question, "Will you allow your children to be married in a different caste if you get a better match there?" Some of the interviewees went to the extent of telling that they will prefer their children, particularly the daughters, to remain unmarried rather than commit the sin of marrying in a different caste.

Only 9 per cent of the 242 families of Majra have no objection to intercaste marriages. The Rajput, Khattries and Vaishyas amongst the higher social groups, however, pointed out that they would be willing to marry in a different caste only if such a caste had a good social status. In no case they were willing to marry in the Harijan families because such unions were considered by the members of their families to be the cause of social disgrace.

More interesting arguments were advanced by some of the Harijan families who were prepared to have matrimonial relations with the outsiders. They pointed out that their social status was already low and could not be lowered any further if they married outside their castes; on the other hand, they argued, that it is likely to go up. The Pasis and Chamars, thus, pointed out that their social prestige is sure to go up if they can marry in the higher castes.

An interesting form of snobbery exists amongst the lower castes of Majra. The Chamars and Pasis sometimes condone the sex offences if they are committed against the members of the higher castes. We came across a case of elopement in which a Chamar boy and a Brahmin girl were involved. The girl belonged to a different village. But when the matter came to light, the offender was let off after giving a feast to the members of the community. The girl, however, was refused admission in her own family. A caste is willing to condone the sex offences of its boys but generally takes a very serious view if the girls are found to be guilty of the same offence. The lower castes are generally not prepared to condone the offender, even if he be a boy, unless he is responsible for "poaching" a high caste girl.

The high caste Hindus generally object to inter-mixing and inter-dining with the members of the lower castes. But their attitude

varies with the social status of the castes. The Brahmins are not prepared to eat *kachcha* food touched by members of any other castes. They, however, have no objection to eating *pucca* food if it is touched by members of the other castes. The *pucca* food is cooked in *ghee* which is a product of the sacred cow and so purifies the food even if it is touched by others. The Rajputs, Khattris and Vaishyas have no objection to eating food touched by the higher Harijans like the Kumhars and Dhobis but have serious objection if it is touched by the Chamars, Pasis, etc. Similar is the attitude of the Jains. Even some of the high caste Harijans are not willing to eat food touched by the lower groups. Thus, the Kumhars have a serious objection to eating anything touched by the Chamars. The lower castes, however, have no objection if their food is touched by the higher caste people. No one objects to eating food touched or cooked by the Brahmins.

Similarly, the Harijans, particularly the lower ones, have to sit separately from the Brahmins when they go to the village temple. They are also not allowed to draw water from the same well from which the high caste Hindus take. There are four wells in the village; two of these are for the Hindus, one for the Muslims and one for the Harijans. The Kumhars and Dhobis take water from all the wells except the one meant for the Muslims.

The above study shows the intimate correlation between the economic and the social life of the people. Poverty and illiteracy have conspired with casteism and social traditions in keeping the residents of Majra under conditions of perpetual backwardness. The factors have created a vicious circle since each one of them is the cause as well as the effect of others. No social reformer should therefore try to separate one set of factors from the others. The high caste Hindus have certain economic and social advantages over the others. But inter-caste rivalries resulting from class consciousness, which is a natural consequence of the caste system, have made it rather impossible for the people to cooperate together in creating a healthy social atmosphere in the village. The Harijans are the worst victims of social exploitation. This explains their economic backwardness also. A reorientation of social attitudes and values through the process of education is, therefore, essential for jural development and social reconstruction.

SOCIO-CULTURAL BARRIERS TO RURAL CHANGE IN AN EAST BIHAR COMMUNITY

N. AKHAURI

I

Of late we have come to realise in course of our experiments with the numerous Community Development Projects, that the key-cause of the misery of the Indian mass is not purely an economic one. It remained the common feeling till the last phases of our pre-independence relations that the root of India's misery lay in its economic backwardness. But the modern social scientist begs to divert from the aforesaid line of thought in the light of his experiences and rigorous observational conclusions as a field-worker in rural India. He has planned and introduced several schemes of rural development into the national life, in collaboration with the sincere efforts of the people's government, and has seen most of them pushing ahead with little success in face of certain socio-cultural resistances to rural change. These various obstacles to culture-change, viz., lack of people's participation, rural prejudices, factions, alcoholic addiction, illiteracy, leadership-problems, personality-deviations, certain problems of communication, caste and interests etc. combine to form a Barrier-Complex. This complex of resistances, with manifold intensity and strength, acts as a positive hindrance against the innovator and his recommendations. Attempt has been made, in this paper, to present an analysis report of the structure and function of this barrier-complex, in relation to an east Bihar village.

II

The village is situated at a distance of 15 miles east of Bhagalpur and 9 miles from Sabour where the Bihar Agricultural College is located. There is a good metalled road linking Bhagalpur and Sabour, but the 9 mile distance beyond Sabour has to be covered on *kachcha* village road lying in the low agricultural land. The village has yet another access, via Ghogha Railway Station which lies at a distance of 5 miles from the village. The village is surrounded by *chaurs*, i.e. low agricultural land, on all sides, which remains flooded with water for four months a year in the rainy season, when boats are the only means of communication.

Surrounded by orchards of mango, *lichi* and palm trees, the village wears a really romantic appearance from a distance. From within,

the village is spatially divided in three *tolas*, which form a compact congregation of households and demarcation between them becomes difficult for an outsider. The community comprises of 372 households residing in 231 houses of the village. A survey of households in 1957 revealed that the total population is 2034, representing various castes viz., Rajputs, Kayasthas, Kurmis, Yadav, Mohammedans, Teli, Bania, Hajjam, and Ravidas. Majority of the population is from the low casts, but the old dominance and authority of the Rajput minority is anyhow still continuing. Economically, it is not a well-off community, but for a few families and households, who too are feeling broken on account of the failure of crops continuously for the last two years. Literacy is really low, and there are about half a dozen persons who have received college-education mostly in Bhagalpur. Social customs and ways of living show ample reflections of the culture of Bengal, probably because of geographical contiguity. Precisely, the village represents the typical rural community in this part of the country.

III

The village exists within the C. D. Block, Sabour, for the last four years. The community has variously experienced its inclusion within the jurisdiction of the Project in course of these few years. Tit-bits of changes are also observed here and there, but our evaluation does not reveal the success of the Project in the achievement of the basic aims of the C.D. Programme. Physical achievements of this Project, which, by their very nature, become quite apparent, comprise of the distribution of some seeds and fertilisers, a pedigree bull, a pedigree goat, two community radio-sets, some loans to individuals by the cooperative society, financial aids to the construction of some compost pits, wells, one latrine, one drain, a one-mile *kachcha* road, one silo-pit, and one foot-and-mouth trough, a few demonstrations of the Japanese method of paddy cultivations, and conversion of the old Lower Primary School into a Junior Basic School. Most of what has been described above are having a functionless existence in the community, on account of their introduction without proper motivation of the village-folk. Again, the physical achievements of the project are very poor, keeping in view the area and population of the village.

As far as the fulfilment of the basic aims of the C.D. Programme is concerned, our evaluation has revealed that the people have not conceived the programme as a self-help process. This is quite evident from the lack of peoples' participation at various stages, and in most of the cases, schemes have been completed within the amount sanctioned by the Project. On account of the play of various selfish

interests in the village, and the improper handling of the village-groups, the village is torn into factions, with the result that the smooth functioning of the community institutions and social organisations has become almost impossible. This phenomenon of the loss of social cohesion under the influence of these disruptive forces becomes most pathetic when we remember that the ultimate aim of the Community Development Programme is the emergence of a healthy and strong community itself.

IV

The talk of introduction of scientific methods in rural life and industry has somehow precipitated various types of rural prejudices in the belief-structure of this community. Agriculture has remained one important concern in the development programme of the Community Project in which this village lies. But quite a good number of recommendations to increase yield have found it hard to become popular among the cultivators in face of various agricultural prejudices. Thus chemical fertilisers are believed to ruin the soil in the fields and their produce are said to taste bad, stale early, or spread leprosy. In spite of two demonstrations in the village, and frequent clarifications from the Department of Agriculture, the Japanese method is thought of as practicable only where huge water resources are available. Crop-insecticides are believed to be more harmful to the soil and the crop than the pests and diseases themselves. Love for the tradition and the old method has created prejudices against most of the scientific methods in agriculture, viz., artificial insemination and castration of cattle, improved agricultural implements, compost, improved seeds and green manuring.

Unfavourable attitude towards other methods of improving the general rural life prevails among the village folk. Criticisms of the modern education, particularly female education, as imparted in towns and cities, is common gossip. Group prejudices and caste stereotypes are proving really disastrous in the way of village-uplift. Most of the public aids for rural reconstruction are missed by the village on account of the existence of group-conflict and caste-tension. Precisely, the extension-worker has been working with great difficulty along the work-schedule and the development programme, on account of the various rural prejudices.

The average personality in the village presents a series of psychopathological problems for the psychiatrist and the social planner. Pessimistic in outlook and approach, it is hard to make him believe in the proverb, "No risk, no gain." "Even an hour of stay in this village is enough to view the garb of pessimism in which the village is clad miserably. Its effect on initiative action and output is too

tremendous for the community. This lack of confidence over future usually results in idling and inactivity, amassing idle money, undue dependence on Providence, decrease in working efficiency, alcoholic addiction, unwillingness to work, criminal behaviour, and what not.

Even if one is not sure of the causal relationship between the two, alcoholism and criminal behaviour have been observed as behaving like correlates in the folk-personality structure. About half a dozen illegal distilleries of native *mahua* wine are known to have been secretly functioning; and perhaps the same is the number of villagers residing in jails convicted for dacoity charges. Minor clashes and litigations are too frequent events for the village to be mentioned. In short, the pathetic plight of the folk-personality needs careful diagnosis by the social psychologist.

The Extension-worker is said to be the pivot of the C.D. Programme, and his sincerity, training, and skill are the determinants of the implementation of the Programme; and also prerequisites to the successful working of the Community Project. Leakages in point of the above have been responsible for only a partial success of the working of the C.D. Project in which our village lies. The village under study does not possess the reflections of the sincere working of the trained personnel.

For various reasons the personnel concerned have been taking more interest in the achievement of the physical target than in their responsibility to educate the masses, arouse their consciousness, and seek people's participation, which perhaps are the basic aims in the C.D. Programme. Their method of handling the various caste and interest groups in the village has shown inadequate training for such work and their poor understanding of the rural social structure. The usual development procedure for this village has always been along the master frame of community development, as dictated from the top, without assessing the felt needs and the ritual framework of the community under consideration. A feeling of dedication while working for village uplift, and a sense of respect for the sentiments of the community have hitherto been found untraceable on the part of the extension workers. These, precisely, are the weaknesses of the system of communication which form an element of the Barrier complex as analysed here in the paper.

The environment of communication has recently become an important item of study in several studies on rural Community Development. The social structure in which the extension worker has to work and deal with people means much in point of determining the acceptance or rejection of the innovation. Recent studies of rural communities by Oscar Lewis, Dhillon and S. C. Dube deserve special mention in this connection. Factions, first of all, have been described as obstacles to rural development. Villages in this part of rural India are

best illustrative of the evil effects of factions in the interest of respective communities. Various case studies prepared in relation to the numerous disputes in the village reveal the existence of two distinct factions based on a complexity of causes. It is really interesting to note on the village map showing 372 households, that all six Rajput families located on one extreme of the map form the chief nucleus of the village politics, either controlling or interfering with almost all activities of the binuclear community. They have the real support of a few other local leaders and some other households, but the rest and majority of the village population of all castes except Rajput hang around the other nucleus. Sick of the traditional authoritarian rule of the above six families, they have chosen to launch a struggle for existence against the dominating minority, under the combined leadership of four persons of different castes. Historically, the origin of these factions can be traced back beyond a decade, but with a different polarisation of the village population. The present power structure which has taken a definite shape for the last four years had the last Panchayat election as the precipitant cause. Interpersonal relationship has been turning more and more bitter and complex since then. There have been violent disputes on various issues in this period, mostly concerning the common economic and political interests of the community. Some important among these disputes imply,

- (a) ownership of the palm tree orchard surrounding the village pond,
- (b) use of the community boat,
- (c) construction of the community hall,
- (d) election of *mukhia* in the local Panchayat Election,
- (e) management of the property of the Kali Temple, and
- (f) right of fishing in the village pond.

These various issues have been really responsible for the loss of social cohesion and disruption of community consciousness. Life in the village is troubled and interpretation of even an insignificant human behaviour is made in terms of party politics. Much harm has been done to the community on this account and our research-team even has to move, act and behave with vigilance, tact and caution. Details of the case study of a particular dispute have been given in a latter section.

This unfavourable environment of communication is further worsened on account of the play of several other factors. Leadership pattern in the village, as partially described above, is a serious detriment to social work. Authoritarian type of leadership is trying its best to retain its dominance on the new or the democratic type. People are feeling helpless when unable to find a leader for themselves in the instable disequilibrium of the period of transition. Ignorance of the

reality and illiteracy of the villagers is further aggravating the deterioration of the situation. Alcoholic habits make them an easy prey at the hand of the evils in the social structure, and its hard on the household economy in a period of continuous failure of crops. Poverty, which has remained their unfailing compaign all along, has its separate role in the rejection of an innovation, even if the fellow is convinced about the gain in acceptance. All these factors, acting together, help in the worsening of the environment of communications.

V

To sum up, the various resistances to rural change can be enumerated as follows :

- A. *In relation to the mass to whom the recommendation is carried.*
 - (1) Rural Prejudices,
 - (2) Personality-Deviations,
 - (3) Rural Illiteracy,
 - (4) Alcoholic Addiction.
- B. *In relation to the carrier of the Programme.*
Faulty communication, referring to
 - (1) the training and
 - (2) sincerity of the innovator.
- C. *In relation to the environment of communication.*
 - 1. Poverty of the village-folk,
 - 2. The caste-factor,
 - 3. Leadership-pattern and problems,
 - 4. Rural contravention or factionalism.
- D. *The Programme Itself.*

It does not take into account the felt needs of the community, and special traits of the rural cultural framework.

VI

The numerous barriers facing the innovator in the rural development programme, as diagnosed separately in the preceding sections, do not comprise a sufficient statement of the complex of resistances. Our field of study—the community under consideration—does not bear the mark of their working in as isolated ways as discussed previously. On the contrary, they have been found foiling the attempt of the extension worker individually, in sets of resistances, and also in the form of a Barrier Complex.

Barriers or resistances as isolates have been variously described in the preceding sections. Cases have frequently been found where a number of obstacles to innovation have been found working conjointly in the form of a Barrier Set. Thus failure of a campaign of

village cleanliness, as sponsored by the young, enthusiastic, basic-trained school-teacher, can be attributed to three of the above causes, (a) the sick-personality of the villagers, (b) caste-stereotypes and common prejudices against the basic system of education, and (c) village-factions, because the school functions under the solitary influence of the Rajput-group.

Widening the scope of this finding a bit further, and expanding the consideration to a greater number of resistances, we arrive at the hypothesis of Barrier Complex. An intimate understanding of the innovation process in the field-conditions has revealed that most of the resistances acting in the field reach a state of balance or compromise in the community framework at a given time, and create a total environment of their own, which resists the innovation with multiplied force in the form of a complex. We have a number of illustrative case-studies concerning several innovations, events and disputes in this village. Case study of a recent innovation may be mentioned at this point :

Construction of a Community Hall in the villages was sanctioned by the Project about an year ago, and promises of financial aid by the Project were made. More than a year has passed, but all attempts to complete the construction of the Community Hall have miserably failed, and the sanctioned government aid is expected to lapse by the end of this financial year. Not less than three sites for the aforesaid construction have been selected and rejected by now. The first one was rejected after the donation and registration of land; the second, after the foundation-stone was laid; and the third, after the walls had been raised about 4 feet high. Conflict to the extent of bloodshed has once been averted on this very issue, on the third and the present site. Last but not the least, Section 144 of the I.P.C. has been promulgated by the police on this site for the last one month. Local leaders have been frequently running to the Project Headquarters, the District Headquarters and even to the State-capital in this connection, but it has been of no avail so far.

It is, however, obvious that existence of the two factions is primarily responsible for the failure in having a Community Hall for the village. But a closer analysis of the dispute over the innovation reveals that the key-cause is inseparably mixed with numerous other resistances to rural change. Interests—economic and political are another very important reason. The usual procedure for such a construction by the Development Project is by allowing the contract for construction to one of the local leaders. As this implies profit, there is keen competition in the village, mostly factionwise, for getting contracts. In the above case, the contract was settled by the Project with the second faction—the leaders of the dominant low-caste-

majority. This jealousy has been lurking since then in the heart of members of the first faction. Again the contractors in this case have been trying to construct the hall at a distance from the Rajputola, so that their voters in future village-elections may not have the usual fears in going to the community hall to vote according to their choice. Dispute over site-selection means dispute over location of the community hall in their respective areas of influence in view of the future village elections. Still another barrier hindering this innovation is the improper handling of the situation by the project-personnel, i.e., defective communication or faulty method of innovation. Caste-stereotypes and group-prejudices too have their important role in aggravating the situation. Interwoven with the above causes are the illiteracy and poverty of the rural population, compelling them to allow their own exploitation at the hands of local leadership based on selfish interests. All these exemplify the existence of the complex of interwoven causes as responsible for hindering the acceptance of the innovation.

VII

The functional relationship between any two or a set or between most of the barriers giving rise to the Barrier Complex can be traced during the process of innovation in a suitable rural community. It must, however, be confessed that the pattern of the Barrier Complex must vary from one rural community to another, depending on a number of factors. But for any community, most of the resistances, at a given time, it is believed, form a net-web, a balance, or an equilibrium. This definitely changes along the time period, as it changes in space, from one community to another—and this probably is the only optimistic point about it for the social scientist.

Much harm has been done on this account in the field of rural community development since the launching of the Community Development Programme throughout the country. This must be taken as a real eye-opener for the social planner and the social engineer. The need of the day, as such, is to organise comprehensive research on the above in relation to the various rural communities throughout the country to formulate the laws of behaviour of the complex of resistances under varying conditions.

RESEARCH NEWS & VIEWS

In a brief statement on 'Ethnic Conflict in the Orient', Chester L. Hunt (University of Manila, *Journal of the East Asiatic Studies*, Vol. V No. 3, July 1956) has raised a pertinent issue on the subject of social tension. 'At the present time', writes Dr. Hunt, 'Colonialism is receding rapidly and it is becoming apparent that there are social tensions arising from the relationships between other groups which may be even more serious than the friction existing between the citizens of Colonial powers and the indigenous population. To some extent these tensions represent an oriental version of issues which have received much attention in the American scene, but it is quite possible that the Sociologists may be somewhat culturally bound in making an uncritical transfer of concepts described in the Study of American groups, mostly Negro and White'. Dr. Hunt gives the list of principal groups which are recognised as being distinct, sometimes in conflicting interest with other groups (1) Aboriginies, (2) Small scale farmers and plantation labourers, (3) Successful commercial middle class (Indians and Chinese frequently), (4) Politically astute western educated upper strata of dominant ethnic group, (5) Religiously cohesive agrarian based groups, (6) Regional language groups, (8) Caste-like groups, (9) Groups of mixed Caucasian-European ancestry, (10) Resident citizens of western powers.

One wonders if the categories are mutually exclusive or how far they are distinct entities. Ethnic groups are not necessarily pressure groups or interest groups and in an area of mixed descent and mongrelised population, mobility and stagnation are not necessarily related to ethnic origins. Yet it would be an interesting study to find out how the various 'entities' are orienting towards one another and what are the common elements in the cultural life of these groups which would be underlined against tension and social conflict that interest groups do precipitate.

* * * * *

In a paper on *Elements of Newar Social Structure*, C. von Furer-Haimendorf (*J.R.A.I.*, Vol. 86, Part II., pp 15-38.) has put forward some very significant facts about the Newars and their social structure. He does not find any convincing proof of either the hypothesis on Newar immigration to Nepal, viz., that they had migrated to Nepal from the regions north of the Himalayas ((Sylvain Levy) or they have moved to the Himalayas from an earlier homeland in Southern India. The racial types among the Newars, according to Prof. Haimendorf, range from the 'Mediterranean' type prevalent among North Indian

population. The Newar Society today is divided into a Buddhist and a Hindu section but the Newars themselves do not own any such cleavage; they use terms like Bhoudik and Saivic to designate the sections of the Newars. The paper outlines certain aspects of Newar culture. The Newars, writes Haimendorf, view social relationships against a background of clearly defined spatial entities. Seniority is over emphasised, succession to ritual and social office is regulated by reference to a membership roll which is maintained strictly according to the age of the members—allocation of public duties is according to a rigid system of rotation. Newar society, like the Sinhalese society, is loosely structured in the sense that 'Behaviour which goes beyond the acknowledged sphere of the normature is condoned or tolerated without the need for rationalisation to competing or conflicting norms except in so far as the value of tolerance may be considered normative'.

* * * * *

A number of interesting papers on the Korku tribe of Madhya Pradesh are published in the Bulletin of the Tribal Research Institute, Chindwara (M.P.), Vol. I, No. 4—Vol. II, No. 1 (January 1958). These are: Some Korku Kinship terms in Proto-Munda by N. H. Zide, Funeral Rites and 'Gatha' Ceremony by L. K. Trivedi, Nursery Rhymes by D. P. Mishra, A note on the Economy of a Korku Village by S. N. Soni, and a Bibliography on the Korkus, compiled by S. L. Dubey and A. M. Kurup.

* * * * *

In *Man*, Vol. LVIII, January 1958, is published an illuminating paper by Miss Chie Nakane on 'Cross-Cousin Marriage among the Garo of Assam'. The Garo are a tribe of Assam who practise matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence. Miss Nakane has given an analysis of the Garo social system to demonstrate their marital relationship pattern and correlated it with their economic and political organization.

* * * * *

In his presidential address to the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland, (published in the J.R.A.I., Vol. 87., pt. II, July-December 1957), Lord Raglan has restated the position of diffusion in anthropological science. Lord Raglan's view is that the evolutionists and anti-diffusionists have tried to confuse the issue by juggling with the word 'primitive'. His thesis is that inventiveness

is rare. "People have become so much accustomed to seeing and hearing of new inventions that they have come to think of technical progress as a normal feature of human life. They fail to realise that most of the inventions on which our civilisation is based have been made by a few men in a few centuries and in the last few centuries". Civilisation is an artificial condition; "where it all started we do not know, but of one thing we can be certain; it did not, as the anti-diffusionists suppose, start everywhere".

* * * * *

Writing in a paper titled "*The Role of the sutures in the Growth of the Braincase of the Infant Pig*," published in June 1956, in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* (N.S. Vol. 14, No. 2) Lois W. Mednick and S. L. Washburn have revealed some facts on the two conflicting theories pertaining to the growth of the mammalian braincase. One theory maintains that the cranial sutures are important sites of growth, while the other emphasises the significance of surface apposition and internal resorption for the growth of the braincase. The findings of these authors are based on the study of skull growth of the infant pig, by means of the alizarin red S-vital technique.

According to these authors, sutures play the major role in the growth of the braincase during the early period of brain development. Growth at both the fronto-parietal and fronto-nasal sutures is rapid during the first six weeks, but at the latter suture this rate continues even after this early period. It has been further demonstrated by them that the secondary growth processes of apposition and resorption are responsible for increasing the thickness of the bones and for the production of diploic and sinus spaces.

Finally they have pointed out the significance and importance of their study for anthropological purposes, namely, the usefulness of the study of sutures in analyzing the variation in human skull form, in other words, the determination of cranial form, and the implications of this for biometry.

* * * * *

J. W. H. Lugg has presented the results of his study of the thresholds of taste of members of two uncivilized aboriginal, ethnic groups living in the Federation of Malaya, in an article, "Taste-Thresholds For Phenylthiocarbamide of some Population Groups" which appeared in the March, 1957 issue of *Annals of Human Genetics* (Vol. 2, Part 3). The author has selected these two groups for this study because of the difference in their physical appearance, and also because of the purest surviving strains of two of the three main categories into which the Malayan aborigines are customarily classified.

The author has recorded the thresholds of taste for P.T.C. of fifty individuals each of the Kintak Bong division of the Negritos and the Semoi Senoi division of the Senoi.

The ratios of the non-taster and taster were found to be 0.18 : 0.82 for the Kintak Bong Negritos and 0.04 : 0.96 for the Semoi-Senoi, respectively. These data clearly indicate a difference of statistical significance.

While comparing the distributions of values for these two groups with the samples of other ethnic groups, the author found a close correspondence between the distributions for the Semai Senoi and the southern Chinese, but the author did not find any affinity when he compared Kintak Bong Negrito material with that obtained by Barnicot (1950) for a group of African subjects.

* * * * * *

Charles G. Wilber, in the article 'Physiological Regulations and the Origin of Human Types', published in *Human Biology*, Vol. 29, No. 4, December 1957, has raised certain very important points on the use of certain ecological postulates as explanation for morphological variations among races by anthropologists who apply "the generalizations of Bergmann and of Allen to *Homo Sapiens*". Wilber does not question the framework of principles which have "proven sound in the light of animal experience", but notes a caution that "one must be aware, however, that ecological extrapolation from animal to man is fraught with danger".

Referring to that school of thought which explains the origin of human racial types in terms of Allen's and Bergmann's postulates as "climatic determinists", he contends that "their stand is based on inadequate data improperly interpreted". He says, "As I view human ecology, one constant factor repeats itself: Man from his earliest origins, has not responded to his environment in a willy-nilly fashion but has rather done every thing possible to control and shape that environment to conform to his ideas of comfort and convenience". Taking into consideration some physiological facts, he is of the opinion that "climate does not impress one as adequate" explanation.

Citing different examples from different regions, he points out that there is no clear cut physiological evidence to Allen's rule that in homeotherms there is a marked tendency towards the decrease in size of extremities and appendages in colder climates. The studies made by McDowell *et al.* on Jersey cattle and Sindhi Jersey crosses show that in these the heat tolerance could not be attributed to a greater proportional surface, large dewlap or other morphological peculiarities.

The Eskimos who are not globular but incline towards slenderness, manufacture the warmest type of clothing known to man and have

homes which maintain tropical temperatures —the aborigines of Tierra del Fuego, thin and small, who live, worked and rested stark naked even in severe snow storms—the Australian aborigines, small and skinny are capable to rest naked at zero degrees Centigrade in their native state, show opposite of the expected response to the climatic determinist rules. On the basis of analysis of these and various other cases Wilber concludes, “the rules of Bergmann and Allen have no causal role in the formation of racial differences in man. Such use of these rules on the part of some anthropologists is a source of misinformation and confusion”. The demands of severe climate in some human groups have been met by technological and behavioral adjustments, and in others by the development of specific heat-conserving functional changes, with no gross morphological changes.

BOOK REVIEWS

AN INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY, BY RALPH L. BEALS
AND HARRY HOIJER, THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK,
SEVENTH PRINTING, 1957, PP. XXI+658, PRICE 6.50 DOLLARS.

The reviewers' job is a difficult and tricky one when they are faced with a book which is declared to be and written as an 'elementary textbook.... for college students who are beginning to work in Anthropology'. Different colleges, particularly in different countries, have traditions of teaching of their own, and for us who are not very well-versed in the traditions of American colleges and the academic needs of American college students, it is difficult to comment with any great degree of precision upon a work which has been written with a view to fulfil that specialised need.

All books, however, must possess certain basic qualities whether they are meant to be specialized and original contributions to knowledge or just elementary textbooks, we feel more so in the case of the latter than in the former. The authors should, thus, cover the whole field of the subject or subjects they propose to discuss; the material presented must be organized in such a way that it should amply cover the major researches done in that field, it should be lucid and precise and as uncontroversial as it could possibly be (particularly so in textbooks which are meant for immature minds); lastly, science and knowledge have tended to become so universal that every work—even though primarily meant for a specialized group of readers, must be fully usable, and with benefit—by readers outside that specialized group.

Our purpose in this review, then, is to examine this book with a view to find out whether or not it fulfils the general requirements for a book—particularly a text-book, and to what extent.

Anthropology is universally accepted as the Science of Man, and its chief fields of study are: physical anthropology, socio-cultural anthropology, prehistory, and linguistics. Any text-book in Anthropology, even elementary, must pay due attention to all these fields of study. From this point of view, we regret to say, the book under review is far from satisfactory, since the authors have neglected the very important branch of prehistory, almost altogether. Besides a very perliminary and brief account of methods of tool-making in a very general Chapter 9, there is no mention of palaeolithic, neolithic or mesolithic cultures of Europe or Asia.

So far as the other three branches of anthropology are concerned, their treatment in this book is fairly exhaustive. Six chapters have

been devoted to comparative anatomy, heredity and genetics, palaeo-anthropology, and race.

The socio-cultural branch of anthropology, however, is the one which has received most close, elaborate and exhaustive attention of the authors. The material on social organization, material culture and technology, economics, religion and education is contained in eleven long and detailed chapters. A separate Chapter is devoted to the "Nature of Culture", another to 'Problems of Culture Change' and still another to applied anthropology. Language is dealt with in a separate chapter. Altogether very satisfactory indeed!

We now turn to an analysis of the material contained in this book with a view to examine the nature of the information, and the following few points, we expect, will serve to demonstrate that the authors have not been very explicit and precise, all through the book, and that their awareness of the major researches and theories in that field is not always unquestioned and up-to-date.

The authors seem to maintain that man originated at some place (not places) in some tropical area of Southern Asia or northeastern Africa, and after acquiring a rudimentary language and culture, spread rapidly over the Old World. Now, this smells, to our mind, of the now-outdated theory of a single place of origin for early man, and of the classical theories of diffusion of culture from a single centre. We wish it could be made more uncontroversial.

The definition of physical anthropology given (on page 6) neglects the very great emphasis which is being laid on human genetics. The role of genetics (and eugenics) in the betterment of the human race is occupying the foremost position in contemporary physical anthropology and is pushing back into relative insignificance the traditional studies of racial classification. This definition, again, is inconsistent with the material presented, since we do find a Chapter (3rd), even though rather sketchy—on 'Heredity and Genetics' in this book.

Dealing with the racial criteria (in Chapter 4), the authors appear to be inclined to put forward the view that the broad nose is more the result of climate, and thus ignore Gates' thesis (that it is a primary racial characteristic). In the same Chapter, we are told that it is 'racially variable' and 'reasonably non-adaptive'. All this is rather confusing.

The reader is likely to be surprised when in Chapter 5 (Fossil Man and Racial History), he finds no reference to the startling disclosure about the Piltdown forgery by Oakley and Wiener. Have these slipped the authors or do they think that this discovery is not of sufficient importance for the under-graduate American student? In other words, is it an error of omission or commission? We wonder!

As is pointed out earlier, the chapters on culture and cultural aspects of human living are well done. In Chapter 8, on 'The Nature

of Culture' though one looks in vain for the theories of culture as developed by the British School. Even E. B. Taylor and Bronislaw Malinowski have been ignored.

Actually, this tendency to ignore the works of non-Americans is visible all through the book, both in respect of theory and ethnographic material. Do the American teachers wish to teach their students only what has been done by Americans, and is their knowledge circumscribed largely by the geographical limits of the American continents? We hope not.

Like most American publications the book has been well illustrated, nicely printed, and the get-up is attractive. With a few changes and additions the book would easily have been one of the best elementary textbooks in Anthropology.

*K. S. M. &
R. D. Singh*

**JOKING AND AVOIDANCE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE
MAITHILS**, BY PT. BAIDYANATH SARASWATI, PUBLISHED FOR
THE COUNCIL OF MAITHIL SOCIAL RESEARCH, RANCHI, pp. 16, PRICE
-/10/-.

The study under review here is a sixteen page booklet with a foreword by Prof. Sachchidanand, formerly Head of the Department of Anthropology, Ranchi College, Ranchi. The booklet, as its title indicates, deals with the joking and avoidance relationships of a Brahmin community in the State of Bihar. The most common joking relationships—those between a woman and her husband's younger brother and between a woman and her husband's sister—have been illustrated with three dialogues. Other kins standing in such a relationship to each other have also been enumerated. The avoidance relationships have been diagrammatically represented.

Besides furnishing the ethnographic details the writer has also given the functional interpretation of the customs in question, no matter if his contribution in this respect has merely been that of quoting and paraphrasing Radcliffe-Brown's statements out of context. On page 9, Radcliffe-Brown is alleged to have suggested two ways for solving the structural situation that is created by a marriage. The presentation of these statements by the author gives the impression that Radcliffe-Brown was busy in social planning rather than in finding out the structural principles underlying the functioning of a society.

The writer has reproduced whole passages from Radcliffe-Brown without making any alterations, yet not acknowledging the source. Space will not allow me to put here the original and the reproduced pieces in juxtaposition for the reader's own comparison. Interested readers can compare the second para on page 1 and the second para

on page 8 that runs up to page 9 in the booklet in question with paragraphs second and third on pages 90 and 91 and paragraphs 2nd and 4th in Radcliffe-Brown's book "Structure and Function in Primitive Society". The booklet abounds in hackneyed repetitions of the same statements which make it an unpleasant reading. One example may suffice here, "..... a woman may have complete avoidance with all the elders of her husbands. But in addition to all such relations a woman also avoids her husband's elder brother."

The booklet teems with mistakes of composition which distort the meaning intended and make the statements liable to be misunderstood. A few specimens may be reproduced here.

"A joking relationship, between two persons, in which one is by custom permitted and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offence." (p.1)

"Joking and teasing in verbal, when advanced to certain degrees, reach into the state of physical contact", (p. 5)

".....if a man wishes a woman fails to deny". (p.5)

"Vinod is the husband's younger brother of Rati". (p. 4)

".....at places where a man is not permitted to joke his wife's brother's wife, he can take recourse of joking and teasing by proxy".

Sociological terms such as *incest* and *sororate* have been used indiscriminately and loosely without any regard for their standard definitions. Of the mother-in-law avoidance, the author writes, "with regard to mother-in-law avoidance, a theory favoured by a number of anthropologists is that the purpose of avoidance is to prevent incestuous intercourse with the wife's mother. This explanation was not complete. It has been held "an example of the speculative theory that has been all too frequent in anthropology made in defiance of scientific method, without consideration of the relevant facts".

Further, "But it appears that the Maithil customs of joking and avoidance relationship reveal clearly that the purpose of avoidance is to prevent sexual connexion at least in some instances, if not in all".

No argument has been given in support of the above hypothesis.

Whatever the merit of the book the reader fails to be convinced that the book is the result of two years' labour as the writer's acknowledgements to his wife seem to suggest. It is not intended to deprecate the enthusiasm of the young writer, but one naturally wishes that more patience and caution would have brought some interesting material on the subject.

V. N. Misra

AADIYON KE NRITYA AUR GEET (HINDI), BY SACHIN ROY,
CULTURAL RESEARCH OFFICER, NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER AGENCY
SHILLONG, 1957, pp. 44.

This is a tastefully produced little booklet on the folk songs and dances of the Aadis or Abors of the NEFA, with a polychrome art-paper cover, and line-drawings on each page of the book. The collection of ten Abor songs is prefaced with a brief introduction about the technique of Abor folk-dance.

The songs are written in the Devanagari script followed by an abstracted rendering in Hindi prose. There is a very brief glossary of Abor words at the end.

As we have pointed out, the booklet is richly decorated and produced. We wish it could be as rich in its content, with more varied songs, line-by-line rendering, and perhaps a longer introduction setting forth a more detailed background of Abor or Aadi culture and the role of folklore in their tribal life. Perhaps this book is not meant for the anthropologist but for the layman, and it is very interesting as such. If, however, the quota of ethnographic details were enhanced, this should have been a very useful book for the students of tribal cultures in India.

K. S. M.

BHARTIYA SAMAJ AUR SANSKRITI (HINDI), BY KAILAS NATH
SHARMA, KISHORE PUBLISHING HOUSE, KANPUR, 1957, pp. 268,
PRICE Rs. 8.00.

Five years ago, we reviewed the first edition of this book in the pages of this journal. Therein, we pointed out certain defects in the book and we are glad to note that most of these have been removed in the present edition.

As the author points out in the Preface, this is almost a new book retaining only the basic structure of the earlier edition. Even the name is changed. The book has been streamlined and considerably rewritten; the language of the text is now both more polished and easier to understand for the under-graduate student; it takes account of the work done in the field of Indian social organisation during this period, by the author himself and by other sociologists and social anthropologists. The book has fewer misprints and a better get-up. We do not know why the author preferred to drop the glossary of terms and did not think of including as elected bibliography and an index. These help the student and the general reader a lot in knowing more about the book at a glance.

The reviewer wants to avail of this opportunity to draw the attention of the Indian sociologists, particularly those who are beginning to

write in Hindi, to the serious situation caused by the lack of a standardised terminology of scientific terms in Hindi. We have before us more than half a dozen titles on sociology in Hindi published during the last half decade. Most of the authors have preferred to translate terms from English into Hindi, each in his own way. In their own interest, in the interest of students and readers, and in the wider interest of our National Language, it is essential that the authors check this tendency for free and unstandardised use of terms. It is simply bewildering and we sincerely hope it does not continue for long.

V. K.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL
SCIENCE BULLETIN



Published quarterly by the United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural Organization
19, Avenue Kleber, Paris XVI.

JUST ISSUED :

Vol. X, No. 1

PART I : THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF AUTOMATION

PART II : ORGANIZATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCE—
NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS—CURRENT
STUDIES AND RESEARCH CENTRES—RE-
VIEWS OF DOCUMENTS AND BOOKS—OPEN
FORUM

Contributors to this issue :

A. D. Booth, M. Crozier, J. Diebold, P. Einzig, G. Friedmann,
J. R. Gass, S. J. Gould, K. Klimenko, D. A. Morse, P. Naville,
M. Rakovski, A. M. Rose.

Single issue :	\$1.00; 6/-
Yearly subscription :	\$3.50; 21/-

Send your subscription to :

Orient Longmans (Private) Ltd.

Bombay - Calcutta - Hyderabad - Madras - New Delhi



who
what
where

Abstracts of sociological publications of the United States, Canada, England, Germany, France, India, Spain, Denmark, Japan, Brazil, Mexico, and shortly Finland, Sweden, Turkey and China.

Sociological Abstracts is published quarterly and contains over 1000 abstracts of 200-300 words each, classified by fields and indexed by author, periodical, and subject matter.

Subscription Price : \$5.00

LEO P. CHALL, *Editor*

sociological abstracts

218 East 12 Street

New York 3, NY, USA

The International Journal of

SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY

Vol. III.

No. 2.

Autumn, 1957

CONTENTS

Experimental Method in the Psychological Description of the Individual Psychiatric Patient, *by* M. B. Shapiro.

The Use of Sound Recordings in Group Therapy, *by* Harry A. Wilmer.

The Use of Films for Mental Hygiene Education, *by* Milton Miles Berger.

Sociology and Tuberculosis, *by* Norman G. Hawkins.

Group Psychotherapy within a Geriatric Unit. An Experiment, *by* S. Benaim.

Behaviour Factor Reactions to Leader Emphases upon Feelings or Social Expressions, *by* Donald D. Glad, W. Lynn Smith, and Virginia M. Glad.

Observations on the Relation of Psychosocial Factors to Psychiatric Illness Among Coal-Miners, *by* Lewis W. Field, Reed T. Ewing, and David M. Wayne.

The Problem of "Distance" in Sex Behaviour, *by* Paul Rom.

Book Reviews and News Notes.

Editors : Joshua Bierer, M.D., D.ECON, and SOC. Sc.

Francis J. Braceland, M.D., Sc.D., F.A.C.P.

Annual Subscription : (Four Issues)

	Gt. Britain & Sterling Area	U.S.A., Canada and other countries
Individual Subscribers	25s. 0d.	\$ 5.
Hospitals, Libraries, etc.	£ 2.	\$ 8.

Enquiries to :

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY,

9, Fellows Road, London, N.W. 3.